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# ***JPRS Report***

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# **Near East & South Asia**

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# Near East & South Asia

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### **Baku, Moscow Accused of Conspiracy in NKAO**

46050036b Paris GAMK in Armenian  
15-16 Jul 89 pp 1, 4

[Article by Y. Kevorkian: "Who Stands Behind the Clashes?"]

[Text] How far will the transgressions and savagery of the Azerbaijani authorities go?

Will the day come when the Soviet central government will wave its finger at them and say "stop?" Will the day come when the Soviet authorities restrain the so-called "hooligans" who are trying to lay a land siege around Stepanakert with Baku's blessings?

Will glasnost reach the stage when it will not only report events but report them accurately, such as what happened recently in Kerkijan, Martakert and Askeran?

We refer to TASS which reports news, as always, in distorted form. It is not just TASS, but all Soviet central media.

What happened? The Azerbaijanis have always tried to block the road to Stepanakert. Their objective is obvious.

The attempts to block the roads are accompanied by clashes at a time when there is talk in Moscow, even if halfhearted, about a possible solution.

The latest events cannot be separated from the decision of the Congress of People's Deputies to send a commission to Stepanakert to conduct on-the-spot investigations and to propose solution methods to the relevant authorities.

The interethnic clashes, or more correctly the attacks on Armenians and military personnel, have been instigated simply for the purpose of undermining the work of the commission to be formed.

They not only managed to impede that work, but the leaders of Baku continue to block even the formation of the commission; by instigating these clashes they turn public attention away from that issue.

Moscow has so far remained silent in the face of these transgressions while its official news agency reports events as it fits its own purposes.

Moscow's silence and TASS' bias make one think whether dark motives are not being pursued.

No they are not dark motives; they are very explicit, and their aim is to break the people of Artsakh and to push them to take desperate measures, in this case hunger strikes, so that later fire can be poured on them and the tired labels of the past can be stuck on their most justified demands.

We wonder why Moscow does not move and force the leaders of Baku to respect the decision of the Congress of the People's Deputies and to make its work easier.

Is it, perhaps, Moscow which stands behind all these clashes?

A question whose answer is not crucial especially at this stage when our gazes are turned to Stepanakert where a general strike has been in effect since May while the people of Artsakh prepare to resort to a hunger strike as their 17-month-old crisis continues.

In this situation, Moscow must review its calculations and for once be just.

To be just it must first understand the problem and must put an end to Azerbaijani misbehavior.

Otherwise, it will become clear to us that it stands behind these clashes. If that is the case one wonders where glasnost stands and what it has brought or will bring.

Is it only criticism that it has brought?

### **Dashnak Party Appeals for Restraint, Balance**

46050037 Beirut AZTAG in Armenian 26 Jul 89 p 2

[Editorial originally published in Athens DROSHAK, the official press organ of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (Dashnak Party): "Hour of Responsibility"]

[Excerpts] The Soviet Armenian government and party leadership added a new encouraging step to their positive initiatives and postures by inviting representatives of popular movements and groupings which do not enjoy official recognition to attend the deliberations of the Armenian Supreme Soviet at the end of June. Then, in an effort to take this initiative—which contributed to the strengthening of ties between the government and the people and the narrowing of differences between the two sides—to its logical conclusion, it made several unofficial representatives who enjoy popular support official members of committees created by the Supreme Soviet and assigned the mission of overseeing and finding just solutions to fundamental problems that concern the people of our homeland. [passage omitted]

Now that the official Soviet Armenian leadership acknowledges the adverse consequences of its earlier hard-line attitude and the failure of its policy of smothering the voices of opposition, we turn our attention to the valiant intellectuals and all unofficial activists who represent the will of our people. We turn to all of them with the hope and expectation that they stand up for their historic responsibility and they act with the awareness that the hour of responsibility has struck for them. Nearly 1 and ½ years after the historic eruption of February 1988, the time has come for the people of our homeland to put on sound footings the three-way balance of the forces which express its will.

At this hour responsibility we emphasize the imperative need for the establishment of a three-way balance because we know by hour historical experience and it was proven by the Artsakhian awakening that only under such circumstances can the people of our homeland express their national demands from a strong position. In other words, only when its government and party leadership, its valiant intelligentsia and its popular activists realize among them the three-way balance in representing the pannational movement.

Our party expects such responsible posture from the representatives of the popular movement in Soviet Armenia because it realizes that the temptation of upsetting norms that comes from the intoxicating emotions of triumph must be restrained. Acts that could be understandable or excusable until official recognition was won cannot continue at this hour of responsibility. An entire nation today looks with great hopes to activists who have won its confidence expecting that they will take the historic tasks of the Artsakhian demands and the reconstruction of Armenia another step forward.

The Armenian political mind stands on the threshold of an auspicious period, and we cast our vote of confidence for all those who respond to this urgent appeal for responsibility and the challenge of expressing and converting to political power the political will of an assertive Armenian nation.

Now the ball is in the court of activists who enjoy the confidence of the people of our homeland.

### **Dashnak Party Calls for 'Pannational Unity'**

*46050036a Paris GAMK in Armenian 24-25 Jul 89 p 1*

[Communique by the Bureau of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation issued in July 1989]

[Text] The time has come to bring the Artsakh movement to maturity.

The reborn assertiveness of the Soviet Armenian people has gone a step beyond its historic and elemental eruption in February 1988 and faces a new turning point.

The popular groupings which stood up to reunite Artsakh with Armenia have not only grown and diversified, but they have raised the banner of the unfulfilled national-political yearnings of all Armenians.

As in the case of all popular movements which are in the midst of revolutionary agitation, the militant groups which have risen out of the bosom of the people of our homeland confront the challenge of determining their ideological course and uniting behind a single organizational front.

The Armenian Revolutionary Federation [ARF], which saw those movements as the genuine progenies of the

Armenian nation from first days of the Artsakh movement and which expressed solidarity with them, today publicly welcomes all initiatives to unify their diffused powers.

With its historic responsibility to cast into reality the revolutionary will and quests of the Armenian people, our party feels obligated to bring to the attention of the diverse factions of the Artsakh movement and the assertive Armenian people in general the strategic principles which are important for guiding the struggle for the national-political self-determination of the Armenian people to success.

- To keep the struggle to make Artsakh part of the Soviet Armenian republic on its sound and realistic course, the Armenian people of Soviet Armenia must above all rely on their own strength. For that, it needs the unanimous stand of all groups which express their political will, namely its popular organizations, intelligentsia and government authorities.
- The success of the restructuring of the Soviet system would contribute to this imperative of ensuring and consolidating unanimity over the demands of the Soviet Armenian people. The people of our homeland need democratic freedoms and the consolidation of social justice to be able to make their voices heard at all levels of government leadership. The work of restructuring must be expanded into the domain of interethnic relations in order to crown with success the democratic struggle to resolve interethnic problems on a just basis and to expand the legal and practical limits of implementing the rights of national self-determination. Only then would the Armenian people ensure their basic national right to chart their own destiny rightfully and independently.
- The challenge of democratizing and restructuring the Soviet system in Armenia can succeed in terms of turning the collective will of Soviet Armenians into political strength only if the Soviet Armenian government and the popular movements—the former with its official decisions and the latter with their insistent demands—put the Soviet Union under the obligation to support the just cause of the Armenian people by guaranteeing the realization of Armenian national integration [azgahavak] through the recovery of internal territories as well as Western Armenia.
- The chief threat which blocks the vitally important territorial and national integration of the Armenian people and which generally imperils the national and political rebuilding of the Armenian nation is pan-Turanism which, even under Soviet rule, makes the governments of Azerbaijan and Turkey direct or indirect accomplices in a common anti-Armenian front despite the official differences which divide them.

These strategic principles are rooted in the experiences of the long struggle for a united Armenia and a united Armenian nation. The Armenian nation waited with its resolute demands for more than 68 years to be able to stand up steadfastly and adamantly on the forefront of

the struggle for its cause and on its own soil with its popular movements, intelligentsia, and official government. And today, when the hour of pannational unanimous assertiveness has struck, it is unpermissible to shirk the responsibilities of this historic moment.

At this imminent hour of national-political maturity, the ARF welcomes all efforts to form a united front for a pan-Armenian struggle and underscores emphatically the imperative need to see the Armenian nation and its cause as a single and indivisible entity, to consider the Armenians of the homeland and the expatriate Armenians as coplaintiffs of the same cause and to perceive the struggle for the Armenian cause as the crystallization of the unfulfilled yearnings of all Armenians.

With the Artsakhian rebirth, the Armenian people attained unity for its struggle.

We expect such purposeful dedication for pannational unity from all the groups which are today working to organize the popular movement of the Soviet Armenian people into a unanimous front.

Long live the Armenian people.

Long live the unanimous struggle of the Armenian people for the recovery of all of its national-political rights.

[Signed] Bureau of the ARF, July 1989.

#### **Yerevan City Committee Protests State of Emergency**

46050036c Paris GAMK in Armenian  
17-18 Jul 89 pp 1, 4

[Text] The Yerevan City Committee held its regular meeting on Wednesday. The agenda of the meeting was changed at the insistence of Ashot Manucharyan, Sos Sargsyan and others and over the objections of the Committee's chairmanship. The meeting examined primarily two issues: The Karabakh situation and the state of emergency in Yerevan. Other issues were also discussed.

Speakers who addressed the Karabakh issue blamed the situation mainly on Moscow. The draft resolution submitted by the Karabakh Committee was discussed and, after being edited and endorsed, was sent to Moscow.

The resolution cites:

"[It is resolved:]

"1. To appeal to the supreme soviets of the USSR, Armenia and Azerbaijan to take steps to defuse the gravely explosive situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO].

"2. In view of the blockade imposed around the NKAO, to ask the USSR Supreme Soviet to lift the blockade immediately and to secure the safety of the population. The possibility of otherwise imposing an Armenian blockade around Nakhichevan was discussed and debated here but was not endorsed.

"3. To ask the USSR Supreme Soviet to dispatch the Nationalities Soviet commission to the NKAO without delay so that it can decide:

"a) to find a political solution to the problem; and

"b) to condemn the government bodies and officials who have created this critical situation in the NKAO and Azerbaijan.

"4. The City Committee of Yerevan urges all citizens of the Transcaucasus to assess the perilous nature of the current situation in the light of the premeditated work of the antipopular and antidemocratic forces and to mobilize all their forces to extricate themselves from this situation."

Following an examination of the state of emergency in Yerevan and heated debates over the issue, the following resolution was adopted:

"1. Given that so far nobody knows who (Moscow or Yerevan) ordered the declaration of the state of emergency, we find that it has been illegal from the first day it was imposed (24 November 1988) until today.

"2. [It is resolved] to form a commission of deputies to examine all illegal actions (arrests etc.) which have been taken during that period and to open judicial investigations where necessary."

After the meeting some of the deputies received appropriate treatment from the people gathered outside the meeting hall for their wicked behavior.

A brief rally was held after the meeting in front of the Matenadaran where the situation in Karabakh was discussed and the results of the [City Committee] meeting were evaluated. The people are pleased with the bold decisions taken with regard to the state of emergency, but are extremely concerned about the condition of Artsakh.

[Date] 13 July 1989

## REGIONAL AFFAIRS

**Egypt, Saudi Arabia Lead in Arab World Investments***45000196 Cairo AL-AHALI in Arabic 6 sep 89 p 4*

[Text] Economic reports noted an increase in Egyptian capitalists' response to investing abroad. The Arab Strategic Report issued by the al-Ahram institute noted that monies coming out of Egypt for investment in Arab countries alone totaled \$27 million in 1987. The report said that Egypt, therefore, came in second after Saudi Arabia in exporting private monies to the Arab market, singlehandedly taking up 12 percent of total Arab-to-Arab investments in that year.

**Egyptian Canada Refugee Camp Families Transferring to Israel***TA1909172889 Tel Aviv HADASHOT in Hebrew 19 Sep 89 p 1*

[text] Shmu'el Tal reports that an agreement was signed between Israel and Egypt at the beginning of the week, according to which 100 families of refugees from the Canada refugee camp, on the Egyptian side of Rafah, will be transferred to Israel. The agreement was signed within the framework of the Israel-Egypt peace treaty.

## EGYPT

**State Minister Discusses Mubarak OAU Role***45040440b Cairo AKHIR SA'AH in Arabic 26 Jul 89 p 5*

[Interview with Butrus Ghali, minister of state for foreign affairs: "The Meaning of Mubarak's Leadership for the OAU: African Debt and Egypt's View of the Solution"; first two paragraphs are AKHIR SA'AH introduction; date and place not specified.]

[Text] What is the significance of President Husni Mubarak's unanimous election as chairman of the Organization of African Unity [OAU]? What does Egypt think is the solution to the problem of African debt, which has a tangible impact on development and progress in Africa? What is Egypt's position towards the selection of the organization's new secretary general? Is it for the continuation of Idi Oumarou in his present post, or is it for his rival Salim Ahmad Salim?

This interview was with Dr Butrus Ghali, minister of state for foreign affairs, and head of the Egyptian delegation at the African ministerial conference.

[AKHIR SA'AH] What was the significance of the unanimous selection by the OAU states of President Mubarak as chairman of its new session?

[Ghali] Since his taking charge of Egypt, President Husni Mubarak has enjoyed great international respect which

has earned him a high position internationally. Moreover, Egyptian diplomacy on the African stage always receives great appreciation because of its constant endeavor to mobilize all efforts and energies to strengthen African solidarity, evoke fighting values, and revive the hope among African peoples that the difficulties which they face can be overcome.

Egypt, which is a charter nation of the OAU, hosted the first African summit conference in 1964 in Cairo. Egypt always applies itself to all battles for freedom, it offers its ranks in the defense of African independence, and it continuously experiences Africa's concerns with all its heart and mind. Its defense has continued for 25 years so that now the OAU has reached maturity. The nature of responsibilities and issues that confront the peoples of the continent has begun to change at this time, and thus it is apparent that Egypt needs to be in a place of leadership of joint African action, and action to achieve the economic and social advancement that Africa yearns for. Many African presidents have expressed their desire that Egypt and President Mubarak take on the chairmanship of the OAU at this critical and important time in its history, and therefore Egypt and Mubarak could not but respond.

**African Debt Problem**

[AKHIR SA'AH] The severe African debt problem places the continent in a difficult economic bind and is considered one of the continent's problems that will confront President Mubarak. In your opinion, why is the problem growing and getting worse?

[Ghali] There are many internal and external reasons why there is a severe economic crisis in the continent; this crisis being the essence of all the problems which Africa currently suffers from. Indeed, it hampers its advancement and development plans and also threatens the future. Some of these reasons are: activities of nonnational companies in African countries, especially those which are linked to inflationary contracts; an increase in the price of imports; and a drop in the price of exports. This is in addition to speculation on commodity prices and the exchange rate, as well as excessive transfer of profits and other capital gains. I would add to all of this that Africa suffers from a rigid production structure and a dependence on the export of a few primary goods and materials, along with the failure of African economies to integrate themselves, and the failure to plan, implement, and follow-up on projects, which leads to rising costs. Let us not forget the natural disasters of drought, desertification, and deterioration of the environment, which result in a drop in food production and a rise in costs of food imports.

[AKHIR SA'AH] How does Egypt think the debt problem can be solved?

[Ghali] Egypt believes that it is necessary to work on increasing cooperation between the states of the continent through strengthening cooperation between the north and south, especially since the volume of internal



trade between African states is no more than 4 percent of the total volume of African foreign trade. Thus, African governments must make new arrangements aimed at increasing their commercial trade, since joint projects between African states offer a new opportunity to develop their capacity to diversify the base of their exports. Moreover, work must be done to revive the quality of investment in the public and private sectors.

Egypt, as it raises the slogan of cooperation between south and south [as published], is in fact working to implement it by offering its technical expertise to sister states through the Technical Cooperation Fund which it established in 1981 to send Egyptian experts to all the states of the continent according to the needs of each. Egypt has also allocated grants for training Africans, and it also takes part in feasibility studies pertaining to cultural, social, and economic development projects.

Thus, Egypt believes it is important to work to establish regional groups as a step on the road to collective integration of the continent in implementation of the Lagos resolutions which aim for the establishment of an African common market by the year 2000. Egypt was behind the effort to create a group of the Nile basin states, called "Ndugu," which means brotherhood in Swahili, and to make it a regional framework for consultation, integration, and joint action, with the goal of developing relations of social and economic cooperation for the good of the peoples of all these states.

Egypt is also working to further stimulate African-Arab cooperation, a task which heads Egypt's priorities in its chairmanship of the upcoming African summit. That is because African-Arab cooperation will be highly beneficial to both sides in the area of economic development and profitable investment. Egypt's return to the Arab League and its chairmanship of the OAU will make Egypt's role very effective.

#### Obstacles to African Development

[AKHIR SA'AH] A new secretary general of the OAU is slated to be elected during the new session. The candidates are Idi Oumarou (Niger), the current secretary general, and his opponent Salim Ahmad Salim, the prime minister of Tanzania. Where does Egypt stand on this candidacy?

[Ghali] Egypt maintains a neutral position towards the two candidates for the post, especially since Egypt, in light of its chairmanship of the summit during which [the election for] this post will take place, is avoiding the appearance of polarization within the OAU between the current secretary, who is supported by some states, and the other candidate, who is supported by other states. The Egyptian chair will work to create an African accord on the candidate to the post and to prevent division. It is unreasonable that we should let such a marginal issue take up the effort and time of the presidents, who ought

to be devoted to solving the important issues and principal challenges which confront the continent and involve the mobilization of resources for building and development!

[AKHIR SA'AH] Is the sociopolitical structure seen as one of the obstacles to development in Africa?

[Ghali] There is no doubt that the African social structure suffers from serious tensions and pressures that are attributable to tribal differences and to the rapid movement from rural areas to the city. Moreover, the decline of social values and laws has led to a loss of identity. This is in addition to many practices that do not help development.

From the political standpoint, the lack of many basic individual rights and freedoms and democratic participation for the majority of the African populace makes mobilization and accountability difficult. This encourages the existence of a narrow decisionmaking base. To counter this problem, Egypt has turned to hosting a symposium organized by the African democratic and socialist parties to be held next January, in which more than 50 African parties will take part.

Egypt is always eager to diversify channels of contact between the African peoples, and to take them from the bonds of restrictive official relations to the stream of comprehensive interaction between the various powers, organizations, and broad popular sectors. Therefore Egypt was one of the founding powers of the Union of African Democratic and Socialist Parties [as published], which embodies the will of the African peoples in an assembly that includes the parties, groups, and invisible powers in our societies for the purpose of mobilizing efforts, resources, and endeavors to meet the responsibilities of Africa's future.

#### People's Assembly Report Warns of Cement Companies' Closure

45000195 Cairo ROSE AL-YUSUF  
in Arabic 14 Aug 89 p 8

[Report by Hamdi 'Abd-al-'Aziz]

[Text] A report by the People's Assembly power and industry committee reveals the dire circumstances of six public sector cement companies, which are threatened with closing.

The report revealed the increased losses of the six cement companies, from 44,000 pounds in 1986/1987 to 68,000 in 1987/1988. This year's losses will soon reach 105,000 pounds. It will be hard for the companies to absorb these losses in the next few years if the situation continues as it has.

The report explained the cause of the losses as the cement pricing policy, which is below cost.

**'Green Party' Representative Outlines Party Policies***45040454 Cairo AL-AHALI in Arabic 26 Jul 89 p 7*

[Interview With Kamal Kirah, Green Party Legal Representative and Executive Committee Chairman, by Ahmad Judah; "Legal Representative of Green Party Founders: Nile River Water Will not Be Fit for Drinking in 5 Years; Intelligence Arrests 10 Founders to Force Them to Withdraw Their Signatures"; date and place not given]

[Text] What is the Green Party story? Why has the Parties Committee turned it down? What are the features of the party's political program? Finally, what is the nature of its future vision?

AL-AHALI answers these questions through this interview with Kamal Kirah, legal representative of the party founders and the party's Executive Committee chairman.

[AL-AHALI] The Parties Committee has refused to license your party, and we wonder why?

[Kirah] For one reason only. There is a directive by the political leadership not to permit the formation of new parties. President Mubarak once said openly: "We want no more parties. What we have is enough." Since it was created 10 years ago, the Parties Committee has not approved the formation of a single party to date. All the legitimate Egyptian parties have been formed by a decision. Parties are supposed to emanate from the masses in order to reflect their wishes, thinking, and aspirations. This is the main reason for turning down our party.

[AL-AHALI] Do you think that there is an objective need for forming a Green Party in Egypt?

[Kirah] Of course. Our party membership has reached 15,000. We have a vast arsenal of anti-pollution laws and regulations but they are not implemented at all. The government agencies refuse to implement them. Do you know that the Nile will not be fit for drinking or for irrigation in 5 years?

**Oppression by Intelligence**

[AL-AHALI] Let us return to the reasons for the Parties Committee's rejection of your party.

[Kirah] I wish to stress that the ill-reputed parties law is the main reason for the psychological pollution among the masses. This law oppresses the masses, imposes custodians on them, and suppresses social and political in Egypt [as published]. For example, we have met the condition requiring that 50 percent [of the founders] be workers and farmers. The law requires the presence of 25 [founders from among the] workers and farmers and 25 from among the other groups. We submitted 59 workers and farmers and 59 from the other groups, meaning that we exceeded the required percentage. But the intelligence arrested 10 of the party's founding workers. I

contacted al-Jizah Security Directorate and was assured that the arrests were made by the criminal intelligence [service], not by the state security. The 10 arrested workers panicked and became fearful when the police pressured them to withdraw their names from the list. Under severe pressure, they sent registered letters to 'Ali Lutfi saying that they have withdrawn from the Green Party even though they had previously signed an official authorization, recorded in the Register Office, for founding the party. The Parties Committee decided that the withdrawal of the 10 workers and farmers reduces the percentage below what is required, even though there are 49 workers and farmers whereas the law requires 25. This is the condition for approval, not for continuation. The committee's objection is extremely superficial.

**Story of Solidarity**

[AL-AHALI] But the Parties Committee has charged that your program undermines social solidarity?

[Kirah] Absolutely not. We have said that education must be tied to the environment and that, therefore, we must emphasize technical and applied education in a manner compatible with Egypt's environment. As for university education, it must be confined only to those who excel. The Parties Committee has said that this undermines social solidarity. In response, we have said to the committee: Where is the social solidarity in elementary and intermediate education whose cost we pay in dollars. Isn't this undermining social solidarity?

**What About Public Sector**

[AL-AHALI] You are accused of trying to sell the public sector. This is what the Parties Committee has said.

[Kirah] To the contrary, the public sector is the Egyptian economy's mainstay. But it is facing problems and obstacles that are curtailing its efficiency. To confront these problems and obstacles, we have proposed that management be separated from ownership so that the management may carry out its economic and production work without bureaucratic instructions that tie it down.

The public sector is experiencing a shortage in liquidity and financing and, consequently, is incapable of catching up with the bandwagon of international technological development because it relies on the state budget. The solution is to subjugate the public sector to the rules of law No 179 of 1981 which governs the joint-stock companies. Consequently, this sector's current assets would be evaluated and a number of shares would be offered in the market. Workers of the public sector companies would acquire 20 percent of the shares and the rest would be sold to Egyptian savers at home and abroad. This means that we would not sell the public sector but would sell a number of shares to increase the sector's capital.

This is what Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir did in 1955 when he invited the people to buy shares in Rakta and the iron and steel company. Our purpose behind all this is to

create financing sources remotely from the state budget. The management and financing problems can thus be solved and new labor can be attracted to eliminate unemployment and to develop the public sector.

#### Where Is Capitalism

[AL-AHALI] Do you think that Egyptian capitalism, especially the parasitic segments of this capitalism, will participate in such a plan?

[Kirah] Naturally, I am not addressing the ordinary saver who risked 5 billion pounds in the investment firms. We are not announcing imaginary projects but state-owned projects.

[AL-AHALI] But you are well aware that the big Egyptian capitalists do not invest their monies in production projects. Rather, they engage in commissioned activities, in representations, in open-door [economic] activities and in drugs. Theirs is a timid capitalism.

[Kirah] I agree with you on all of this. But the open-door economy must be coupled with open-door politics. No open-door economy will succeed without open-door politics. The United States dominates the world politically because it is dominating it economically.

[AL-AHALI] Have you despaired now that the Parties Committee has turned you down?

[Kirah] No. We are the masses and people with a right. We are entitled to unite in an organizational form. The Parties Committee's approval is not a birth certificate. We have actually been born in spite of the Parties Committee. We do not accept oppression because oppression is a form of psychological pollution. The masses are oppressed, they do not participate in elections and they have capitulated to governmental oppression. But for the Egyptian citizen to be productive, we must free him of oppression so that his thinking may be free and his conscience clear—so that he may be aware of his humanity and humaneness. A sick person is not productive and the scared and the oppressed do not produce. Oppression must be lifted from the masses. Regrettably, oppression has become a main component of the Egyptian character. The people's money has been smuggled abroad and our productive capabilities are imprisoned. We are oppressed daily in transportation, in the markets, in politics, and in the media.

[AL-AHALI] It is well known that Europe's Green Parties are leftist. Are you a rightist or a leftist party?

[Kirah] We are a right-of-center party.

#### Twenty Arrested at al-Ansar Mosque in 'Ayn Shams

45000193 Cairo AL-NUR in Arabic 30 Aug 89 p 1

[Report by 'Asim al-Khuli]

[Text] The situation in the 'Ayn Shams area has escalated once again. Last week security forces stormed al-Ansar Mosque in the al-Zahra' area of 'Ayn Shams

right after the worshippers had finished their sunset prayers during the weekly meeting organized by the Islamic Society every Tuesday. The security forces arrested 20 of the society's members.

#### 'Communist Researcher' Attacks Islam at Women's Seminar

45000194 Cairo AL-NUR in Arabic 30 Aug 89 pp 1,8

[Report by 'Abdallah al-Sayyid]

[Text] Last Saturday, the seminar organized by the Communist association that calls itself the Arab Women's Solidarity Association witnessed a shameful attack on Islamic law and the Holy Qur'an.

A person named Mustafa 'Awad, who introduced himself as a member of the association and an instructor in the 'Ayn Shams Girls' School, delivered a insolent research paper on Islam. He said that Islam permits sex through slavery, the servitude of women to men, and their use as a commodity to be bought and sold.

The Communist researcher claimed that it is not possible to apply Islamic law in our current time because it is not appropriate to an age of science.

He said, "I maintain that, if Islamic law were applied in Egypt, society would fall and chaos would prevail." The Communist researcher did not stop at this, but went on to attack the companions of the Prophet, even accusing them of being "backward" and not knowing about an invention called democracy.

The immorality of this Communist researcher even extended to saying "As long as there is democracy, let it rule the people, not God!"

Strangely enough, the seminar was attended by Dr 'Ammad Hafni, an instructor at al-Azhar University. However, he kept silent and did not take action or defend Islam.

#### New Shura Council Head Discusses Domestic Issues

45040467 Cairo UKTUBAR  
in Arabic 16 Jul 89 pp 19-22, 69

[Interview with Dr Mustafa Kamal Hilmi, president of the new Shura Council by Mahmud Fawzi: "First Interview with New President of Shura Council: 'I Do Not Believe in One Party System; I Welcome Having All Political Forces on Scene; Journalist Must Choose between National or Partisan Newspaper; If Muslim Brothers File Application To Form a Party, Decision Will Be up to Political Parties Committee and Supreme Administrative Court; No One but Law Holds Sway over Political Parties Committee; Alternatives to Examinations for Secondary School Certificate To Be Proposed

this Year; Opposition Is not Matter of Quantity but Rather of Opinion and Strong Argument; I Call upon Egypt's Scientists and Experts To Submit Their National Issues to the Council's Committees';" first three paragraphs are UKTUBAR introduction; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] Nothing was more eloquent, more poignant, and more splendid than the words spoken by Dr 'Atif Sidqi, the prime minister, when he introduced Dr Mustafa Kamal Hilmi by saying, "I am unable to express the happiness I feel with the selection of my brother and teacher, Dr Mustafa Kamal Hilmi, president of the council. He is a man distinguished by his wisdom, his reason, and his tactful and noble character."

The prime minister spoke broadly and minced no words when he highlighted Dr Mustafa Kamal Hilmi's most important characteristics. Dr Hilmi, the new president of the Shura Council, has left indelible marks of his influence on all fields of public education, university education, scientific research, and political activity. He is the longest serving minister in Egypt's history, and his main qualifications for this earnest and sustained service to the homeland have been his personality, his ideas, and his character.

UKTUBAR is the only magazine to interview Dr Mustafa Kamal Hilmi, president of the Shura Council, president of the Supreme Council for the Press, and chairman of the Political Parties Committee.

[UKTUBAR] Dr Mustafa Kamal Hilmi, you had a meeting this week with Dr 'Atif Sidqi, the prime minister. What happened in that meeting? Can you tell us how much agreement there will be in the next stage between the government and the Shura Council?

[Hilmi] That meeting was held to confirm the existing cooperation between the government and the council. Actually, the council was honored by the fact that Dr Sidqi has been a prominent and influential member of the council since 1980. His contributions have enriched the council's studies and ideas on a number of issues, particularly economic ones. Dr Sidqi served on the council before Egypt had the honor of having him serve as its prime minister. This cooperation between the government and the council continues and exists. That was why I went to his excellency. I wanted to emphasize the meaning of what he had stressed in his opening address to the council when he asserted that he was personally interested in all the council's reports and that the government in general was also interested in those reports. That was why I went to him: I wanted to assure him that the Shura Council continues to do what is expected of it. It is continuing to conduct indepth studies and to offer the recommendations it can make on the basis of those studies.

I also indicated to the prime minister that the council would be happy to hear from him personally and from the minister's subjects what is of concern to them of a national nature. I would like to point out in this regard

that the ideas of the Shura Council stem from its members, who are the top experts in all fields, and from the subjects we receive from the prime minister and the ministers. In addition, the council's ideas stem from some experts in all fields. With that in mind, I call upon all of Egypt's scientists and experts to present anything to the council which is worth considering, and we are willing to present it to the council's committees.

I would like to affirm that the council does not start out from a vacuum. It benefits from all available national studies, from the National Council on Education, Scientific Research, and Technology, and from the specialized councils in general. The council benefits from studies which are conducted by committees for the purpose of arriving at a body of thought which expresses what we tend to do as a nation about solving our problems.

[UKTUBAR] Dr Hilmi, do you think that the system of voting for individual candidates, which has not been in use for 10 years, created genuine political participation by the public, or did that system cause the people to refrain from participating in elections, as opposition newspapers claim it did?

[Hilmi] We have already tried the absolute list system. Afterwards, we tried the proportional list system. Then it was said that neither system was compatible with the present constitution. So a new formula combining the proportional list system with an individual seat was devised, and it was applied in the People's Assembly. This is because some people may say, with regard to the absolute list system, that it would not be fair at all, assuming that one list received 49 percent of the vote and another received 51 percent, and that everyone on the list which received 51 percent of the vote would win while everyone on the list which received 49 percent would lose. That too is not compatible with the constitution.

With regard to the proportional list, many parties said they were in favor of a formula for individual seats and a formula requiring a party to get a certain percentage of the vote so it can represent its constituents. But what will happen to these votes if the party does not get that percentage of the vote? To whom do these votes go, and how are they to be distributed? What did we think was the difficulty of assigning these votes? To whom and how would these votes be assigned? The difficulty we saw in applying that system had a major effect in making Egyptian citizens prefer the easy method by means of which voters can meet the candidates in their districts, find out what their ideas are, and stay in touch with them. This would be difficult to do under an absolute or a proportional list system. People and Egyptian society may find this formula easier to understand. It is a formula which combines the notion of a person as an individual with that of a person as a representative of a certain idea and a certain party. The Egyptian people have come to understand the value of this formula. After



all, they are observant and perceptive people who understand the issues and concerns around them because of their ancient history and their lengthy experiences.

[UKTUBAR] Dr Hilmi, do you think democracy is being impeded by the opposition parties' boycott of the Shura Council elections? Is this a sign that we are returning to one-man rule and totalitarianism? Is this a boycott of the Shura Council, or is it a boycott of democracy?

[Hilmi] I believed and I still do that it is best to have all the political, social, and intellectual forces represented under the dome of parliament. Enough room must be made available for all opinions whose only aim is not personal gain, but rather the public welfare of Egypt. This is what I have been calling for in the elections process. I refused to use the term, election campaign, and, in fact, I corrected those who used that term, telling them that a campaign was something which adversaries did when they fought each other. I told them that we were no one's adversaries here. I told them we were all God's children and fellow Egyptians who love our country and its general welfare. All political parties have their principles, their history, and their men, and they are all worthy of respect and appreciation. Every one of them vies with the other to serve society, not because their relationship is an adversarial one. I am delighted that there is a large group of independents in the assembly.

[UKTUBAR] Dr Hilmi, now that most of the opposition has boycotted the elections, how large do you think the opposition will be inside the council? Do you think that the opposition which will be represented in the council will make it possible for the council to conduct an effective debate and a useful exchange to help it come up with the best proposals, especially in the absence of those in the opposition who cannot be overlooked?

[Hilmi] The opposition in my opinion is not a matter of numbers. We all saw the previous parliaments we had during the history of Egypt's political movement. Having one, two, or three members expressing their opinions forcefully and arguing reasonably was enough for history to take note of that opposition. Today, we are honored by those colleagues who are serving with us on the council, whether they come from other parties or they are independents.

A group of our colleagues who are members of opposition parties were subjected to measures which were taken against them by some parties after they became members of the Shura Council. That is why they are in the council as independents. Although a decision was issued denying them membership in one party or another, they declared quite openly that they represented that particular party's ideas and spirit. Moreover, when many issues in Arab or Egyptian politics are set forth, what we find immediately is that national thought dominates, prevails, and is in control.

I will give you an example. When the subject of an Egyptian nuclear program was presented to the Shura Council during its previous session, there was an obvious difference of opinion between party representatives about that program. However, after we met 22 times and after we asked for experts in nuclear energy, medicine, industry, and agriculture, we came out with a common, national way of thinking. All the parties came together out of our affection for Egypt and for Egypt's heart and future.

We never called for a vote. What would we vote on? Do we think that if we were to talk about educational policy, for example, we would find that 80 people on the Education Committee would be on one side, 4 would be on another, and 5 would still be on another side? All the members are of one mind. Opinions and other opinions are expressed for the sake of Egypt's interests only.

[UKTUBAR] What are the main topics for the council's new session, and what are the most important issues which you will be attending to on a priority basis?

[Hilmi] I would not like to anticipate the council and determine its priorities, nor would I like to be lagging behind it when it formulates an opinion. The council's priorities are determined by the General Committee whose ideas come from committee chairmen and the issues they set forth, from party representatives, and from the council's authorized representatives. We may receive a request from the president to study a subject because we are authorized to study subjects which are turned over to us by the president, the prime minister, or the members.

We do in fact have a case load of issues which are pending before the council. The council investigated approximately 20 subjects during its previous session, and a certain amount of research has already been done on some of them. As you know, our method in investigating matters begins when a request is made to have a subject discussed. The request usually shows whether that subject is a priority subject or not. Afterwards, the subject goes to an authorized committee which looks into the matter for approximately 2 or 3 months or for a period of time which it determines is adequate for completing its investigation. The investigation is concluded with a report issued by the committee called a preliminary report. That report is presented to the council so that council members can comment on it from all angles. The report is then sent back to the committee, and it is called a final report and declared valid by the council.

We now have 20 subjects. These include: the ideal use of the waters of the Nile, development in Sinai, addiction, children in Egyptian society, agricultural cooperatives, food policy, small industries, land reclamation, the role of the private sector in development, for a stable educational policy, medicine, unemployment, development of the Egyptian village, and industrial investment in the private sector.

[UKTUBAR] Which one of these topics has the highest priority in the council's plan? Is it unemployment, which the National Party will discuss, or the white poisons and drugs, which are destroying our young people? Is it family planning and the attempt to stop the ticking time bomb of the population explosion? Since I started this interview with you, 30 babies have been born.

[Hilmi] All these are matters of interest and matters of priority. I would like to point out that although we may be asked to look into a priority foreign policy matter, such as the Arab Cooperation Council, for example, that does not put off the interest we have in the population question, the childhood question, the question of unemployment, agriculture, or food policy.

The relationship between the council's committees is one that allows these committees to complement each other. While some of the council's interests are legislative, other interests affect public policies, and still others affect pressing issues. It is most certainly consultations in the general committee which determine what gets priority over what.

[UKTUBAR] Dr Hilmi, even though you are now president of the Shura Council, you remain deep down the foremost minister of education in Egypt, having served in that capacity and as president of the Teachers' Union as well. When will the Egyptian family be free of this monster which attacks it around this time every year? I am talking about the examinations for the secondary school certificate. Did you see the students appealing to the community to save them from this public catastrophe? What is the attitude of the Shura Council? Are these simply reports which are to be added to others, placed on the shelves of the council's library, and disregarded by the government?

[Hilmi] I would like to say at the outset that I consider myself one of those who served in the field of education and that I still see myself as a teacher. Anyone who works in education learns even while he teaches, and I am one of those people. This confirms the words spoken by Almighty God in the beginning of His Holy Book. God said, "Read." This word was revealed for all people in all the ages. It is not addressed to one group of people of a certain age.

I can assure you that the studies which the council examines and looks over are never placed in the council's library. And I can tell you this because when I was overseeing the work that was being done in the education sector, the Shura Council used to study the report on university education, and it used to make recommendations about the admission system. When I presented the Shura Council's recommendations to the Supreme Council for the Universities, that council accepted those recommendations. I would also like to affirm that recommendations accepted by the council are valued by the executive council. The council is now reviewing a study entitled, "Toward a Stable Education Policy." Mr Fathi Surur, the minister of education, came to the council

twice, and he will be coming to the council other times to complete the study of that subject in its different aspects. The examinations are actually part of an over-all strategy about which Dr Fathi Surur presented an integrated set of ideas when he took over the Ministry of Education. Dr Surur's ideas were presented from the standpoint of the strategy of education as a whole as well as from the standpoint of executive programs which are put in place to achieve that strategy. He is making rapid progress in his efforts to complete and modernize the educational process and to solve all its problems as well.

I would like to point out that the 1980 Education Act established the Supreme Council for Pre-University Education. Members of that council include the minister, representatives from the universities, the president of the Teachers' Union, and representatives from the ministries of planning, finance, and the economy. This is a method which is used by corporations.

Dr Fathi Surur, the minister of education, convened a meeting of the Supreme Council for Examinations as soon as a minor comment was made on one or more question appearing in one or more subject, and he reviewed the matter with the council. In the next few hours the minister could come out with formulas and alternatives to the general secondary school education examination. He took that idea from the National Council on Education, to whom he had presented his thoughts. This will be presented to the Supreme Council for Examinations which will come up with new and better formulas. I really appreciate Dr Fathi Surur's efforts in this regard.

[UKTUBAR] What role does the Shura Council play in monitoring the hot events occurring one after the other on the Arab and international scenes?

[Hilmi] The council does, of course, have a committee for foreign and Arab political relations. In addition to the subjects to which it devotes its attention and those that are on its agenda, the committee tries very hard to monitor all the pressing issues which crop up. In this regard I would like to mention for the record the role played by Dr 'Ismat 'Abd-al-Majid, the deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs. Dr 'Abd-al-Majid, whose efforts are obvious, never once hesitated to accept the committee's or the council's invitation to make a statement or answer any question from the council. The council may hold a meeting every 15 days, but if something happens between one meeting and another, Dr 'Ismat 'Abd-al-Majid would never fail to show up for a council meeting. His attendance at council meetings is exemplary.

[UKTUBAR] Dr Hilmi, do you think the Shura Council's new session represents an extension of the efforts made by Dr Subhi 'Abd-al-Hakim and Dr 'Ali Lutfi, the council's two previous presidents, or do you see the council representing a new stage this time?

[Hilmi] The council is certainly an extension of the efforts made by my two predecessors. I said something to

that effect during the opening session. Dr Subhi 'Abd-al-Hakim and Dr 'Ali Lutfi, the council's two previous presidents, made the rules, set the traditions, and devised the systems for the council. We are completing the job they started. We are completing the council's examination of some of the subjects which the council did not complete during the previous session. There are approximately 21 such subjects.

[UKTUBAR] Since spending is being cut and some of the state's revenues are declining, some people think that the Shura Council is an example of wasteful spending. Given the economic problem we are afflicted with, the Shura Council is putting pressure on available resources. This is especially the case when we look at the Shura Council as an institution that duplicates functions which are carried out by authorized national councils. Don't you think there is a similarity between the role played by the Shura Council and those played by the other councils?

[Hilmi] Based on the nature of its work, the way it is formed, and its areas of authority, it is quite clear that the Shura Council is a legislative, not an academic research council. On the one hand, its counsel is sought on draft laws which supplement the constitution and any other draft laws which the president sees fit to consult the council about. On the other hand, a quick look at the council's sphere of authority, and this is mentioned in Article 194 of the Constitution, makes it clear that the council is political in nature.

The Shura Council then is basically a constitutional institution whose participation in the legislative process occurs in accordance with its spheres of authority, as mentioned in the constitution. Two thirds of the council members are elected. Compliance with the constitutional rule which stipulates that half the elected members must be workers and peasants broadens the circle of popular participation in the council's activities. Herein lies the main difference between the Shura Council and the duly authorized national councils.

I will not forget to mention here that the years which have elapsed since the council was established in 1980 proved the council's usefulness and importance. The council proved its usefulness and importance by its legislative contributions to the draft laws which were presented to it to supplement the constitution. So far, approximately 76 such draft laws have been considered by the Shura Council. In addition, the council participated in earnest in studying many subjects which are associated with our domestic and foreign issues, and it has issued recommendations on these matters.

[UKTUBAR] To what extent is the Shura Council being considered a pillar of support for democracy in Egypt despite what is being said about its idle legislative function? Is it not possible for the Shura Council to have some legislative function besides its advisory function? Is it possible that it can function like a senate in the

parliamentary systems which can be found in England, France, and the United States?

[Hilmi] I beg your pardon, first of all. Please allow me to replace the word, idle, which you used, with the phrase, "needs to be emphasized." During its previous sessions the council discussed 67 laws, including, for example, the Judicial Authorities Act, the People's Assembly Act, the Shura Council Act, the Local Government Act, the Consumption Tax Act, the Income Tax Law, the Code of Regulations for Customs Exemptions, the laws for the Social Development Plan, and other such laws.

[UKTUBAR] Some people are looking forward to the time when the People's Assembly and the Shura Council will have equal legislative powers. Both bodies then would have to approve a law before it is ratified and becomes the law of the land. What do you think about that?

[Hilmi] I would like to affirm that when the Shura Council expresses its opinion on some law, that opinion is usually valued by the People's Assembly. In practice, no law was rejected here by the Shura Council and approved by the People's Assembly, and the opposite is true. There is mutual respect between the two bodies.

The Shura Council is also authorized to exercise its discretion in studying any one of the ideas that are proposed to amend one or more articles of the constitution.

[UKTUBAR] Dr Hilmi, the draft laws which are supposed to supplement the constitution were not mentioned explicitly in the constitution. Have these draft laws been defined? When will the committees which have been authorized to look into this matter complete their study of it?

[Hilmi] It is known that the constitution makes no explicit reference to the draft laws which supplement the constitution. What happened is that meetings were held by two committees: an authorized committee from the Shura Council and an authorized committee from the People's Assembly. The two committees held meetings to determine which laws would be considered supplementary to the constitution. Studies were actually done, but more needs to be done in that regard, and we intend to reach a mutual agreement on this matter. This is an extremely important point because, after all, if a draft law that was supposed to be presented to the Shura Council is presented to the People's Assembly, one fears that the constitutionality of that law may be challenged in front of the Supreme Constitutional Court. The intent here is to preclude the possibility of such a challenge lest someone say that such a draft law should have been presented to the Shura Council when it was not. We will hold meetings with authorized officials in the People's Assembly soon for the purpose of identifying the laws which supplement the constitution.

[UKTUBAR] Since some committees of the Shura Council are overloaded with commitments, does the new

session of the council intend to increase the number of committees in the Shura Council to cope with the pressures of business?

[Hilmi] Some of our colleagues suggested that some of the larger committees be divided into two committees, but this is up to the General Committee. Some fellow members suggested that the Agricultural Production and Manpower Committee [be divided]. Others suggested that the Services Committee in the Shura Council be divided. They said that the Shura Council has one committee for services whereas the Services Committee in the People's Assembly is divided into many committees including the Education and Scientific Research Committee, the Culture Committee, the Religious Affairs Committee, and the Information Committee.

[UKTUBAR] Now that the Shura Council has established its existence and its effectiveness, don't you think that the time has come for it to function like a senate, especially since it has an excellent group of Egypt's elite in various fields? Don't you think that the time has come for such a change after almost 10 years of present-day experience?

[Hilmi] If you were to examine the history of the political movement in Egypt since the first council was established to offer advice on the laws, you would find that Egypt does not stand still and does not stick with one system in particular. Egypt rather moves deliberately and slowly on the basis of its experience and its social, economic, and political circumstances. The election system provides evidence of this. If we were determined to hold on to a certain position, we would have insisted on keeping the absolute list, but certain observations were made on that method. [We were told] we want a proportional list, and we said we'll try it. Then we discovered that observations were made on that system because it was incompatible with the constitution. Then we proposed that there be an individual seat beside the proportional list system. We carried out that plan, and when observations were made on it, we changed it. What I want to emphasize is that we do not stand still, and we do not insist on one idea in particular. We take things as they come. We must also have an opportunity to study matters and to comment on them. Furthermore, people must not be detached and isolated from the problems which are set forth in front of the council. We set forth the aspects of a problem; we outline its origins, implications, solutions, and alternatives to those solutions. We do this so that people can participate in the process and not remain bystanders. We do this so that people can feel what we feel, and we do it to generate a popular reaction. This way, once a decision is made citizens would not find that decision foreign to them because they would have known from the outset what the problem was in the first place, and they would have participated in finding a solution to it.

[UKTUBAR] The Holy Koran talks about consulting with others as a matter of general conduct for all Muslims. The Koran says, "[Allah will reward those who]...

conduct their affairs by mutual consent [al-Shura: 38]." The Koran also talked about consulting with others as a way to govern. God told His messenger, may God bless him and grant him salvation, "Take counsel with them in the conduct of affairs [Al-'Imran: 159]." Can this system of consulting with others be implemented on the highest levels, given the fact that we do not apply the canonical laws of Islam in our system of government? How can that be done?

[Hilmi] Who said that we do not apply the canonical laws of Islam? According to the constitution all the laws must be compatible with the canonical laws of Islam. I do not think that a single law that was enacted recently or in the past turned out to be incompatible with the canonical laws of Islam. When the inheritance tax was discussed, and his eminence the mufti expressed his opinion that it was incompatible with the canonical laws of Islam, President Husni Mubarak requested that the law be repealed immediately. We are by nature a Muslim people, and consulting with others is something that is practiced on all the levels of the state.

[UKTUBAR] Dr Hilmi, since you are chairman of the Political Parties Committee, what are the criteria which you think should be used to determine whether or not the establishment of a party is to be accepted or rejected? People in the opposition are saying that the Political Parties Act is a stumbling block which prevents the establishment of new parties. They say that the state is satisfied with six parties and that, regardless of the reasons, there is no way a seventh party will be approved. Engineer Sami Mubarak filed an application requesting the formation of a party, but his request was denied. The Nasirists' request for a political party was denied, and so was the request made by the Green Party and recently by the Christian Party.

[Hilmi] The Political Parties Act laid down the conditions which must be met by the program of any political party. The Political Parties' Affairs Committee operates within the guidelines set by this law. It acts as a judge in making a decision about an application. In making its decision it is guided and controlled by no one but the law. If it finds that a party's program meets these conditions, the establishment of that party is approved. Otherwise, the establishment of that party is denied.

There was some controversy over a condition in the law requiring "a political party's program and policies to be patently distinct and different from those of other parties." The Supreme Constitutional Court settled that controversy when it ruled on 7 May 1988 that the condition required by the law was constitutional. Therefore, an applicant must adhere to it, and so must the committee when it makes its decision about an application for the establishment of a party.



Mr Sami Mubarak's application for the establishment of the Republican Party was turned down by the committee. Mr Mubarak filed a lawsuit to appeal the committee's decision, but he withdrew the lawsuit he had filed with the administrative court of the Supreme Administrative Court.

With regard to the establishment of the Social Peace and National Unity Preservation Party whose application was filed by Mr Habil Tawfiq and a few Christian fellow citizens, Mr Tawfiq came to the committee and withdrew his application. The committee thereby established that the application was withdrawn.

[UKTUBAR] Dr Hilmi, when the name of a new party is presented to the Political Parties Committee, which you chair, to request the committee's approval of that party's participation in Egypt's political scene, don't you get the feeling, at least briefly, that you are a prominent member of the ruling party?

[Hilmi] I do not believe in adhering to one party. I welcome the existence of all political, intellectual, and social parties under the dome of parliament.

[UKTUBAR] What if the Muslim Brothers were to submit an application, during your term as committee chairman, requesting permission to form a party? Would you approve it?

[Hilmi] This will be up to the Political Parties Committee. After that it is up to the Supreme Administrative Court.

[UKTUBAR] What do you think about the opinion which advocates that there be freedom to establish religious parties?

[Hilmi] As long as I serve on the council or in the Political Parties Committee, I do not have a separate opinion on this matter. Ultimately, it is the opinion of the committee that counts. And the committee does not operate in a vacuum: it operates within the guidelines of the constitution, the law, and legal documents. Nevertheless, a decision made by the Political Parties Committee could be appealed to a higher authority, which is the Supreme Administrative Court.

[UKTUBAR] It has been noticed that the applications of many religious parties were turned down even though Shaykh Ahmad al-Sabahi was permitted to establish the Ummah Party, despite its purely religious affiliations.

[Hilmi] No parties have been established on a religious basis. The Political Parties Committee does not operate in isolation. Its actions are guided by the constitution and the law. Should it violate the constitution or the law, any individual or group whose application is turned down can take his case to court and get a favorable ruling.

[UKTUBAR] Will the legal form of national institutions be amended in the coming stage? The Shura Council is the body which is actually responsible for confronting

the absolute powers of a chairman of the board of directors, even though it does not have the power to take action against him. What do you think will be the future legal form of those institutions, which are neither public nor private, and whose form can best be described now as ambiguous?

[Hilmi] As a committee member or a council member, I do not wish to jump the gun. These matters must stem from the institutions themselves. They must stem from the material world, or from the council itself.

[UKTUBAR] Dr Hilmi, what will you do about some press institutions which are losing money? These institutions took out loans, they have debts, and they have obligations to pay their employees salaries and bonuses. What will you do about the raises which the state determined are due to these institutions' employees? What will you do about what the state decreed was these institutions' obligations to their readers to continue publishing at the same price?

[Hilmi] Given the difficult circumstances these institutions are experiencing, the state has been subsidizing them. We all know about the cost of paper and how terribly high that cost has risen. And we all know about the services rendered by these institutions which exist to serve the people.

[UKTUBAR] In your opinion, what is the solution? Should some of these institutions be merged together as has been suggested?

[Hilmi] These are administrative matters. Some institutions managed to overcome these difficulties, and others were not able to manage that because of their own circumstances. Some institutions receive revenues from certain activities which could include advertising, but others may not have such revenues.

[UKTUBAR] Do you think that raising newspaper prices will put an end to the financial crises which some Egyptian newspapers are going through?

[Hilmi] This is something which each press institution looks into. Each press institution does that in accordance with its efforts to make its circumstances more sensible. And these circumstances are associated with numerous factors, not with one factor only, including the cost of paper and the sales price for the newspaper.

[UKTUBAR] One of the first issues you will have to face in the Supreme Council of the Press is that of a journalist working for a national newspaper and for a partisan newspaper at the same time. What in your view is the solution to that question? Should a journalist take leave without pay from one newspaper, or should the situation continue as it is now? At this time an Egyptian journalist can write for an Arab newspaper at the same time that he writes for his Egyptian newspaper.

[Hilmi] With regard to the subject of journalists working for national and partisan newspapers at the same time, the opinion which was reached after more deliberate

study was that partisan newspapers were to be given an opportunity to build up their own staffs. Afterwards, journalists will have to choose between working for a national newspaper or a partisan one.

[UKTUBAR] What was done with regard to the merit and promotional awards for the press which President Husni Mubarak said were to be awarded to journalists every year?

[Hilmi] A draft law regulating the distribution of these awards has been prepared. The draft law was reviewed by the Press and Journalists' Affairs Committee at the Supreme Council for the Press. The committee approved the draft law and presented it to the council which also approved it during its recent meeting.

[UKTUBAR] Dr Hilmi, before you started your political career more than 35 years ago, you used to make this wellknown statement. You used to say, "I do not agree with those who say that the major flaw I have is the total confidence I have in all people." Do you still believe that?

[Hilmi] It is a fact that all those I have met in my life were worthy of my confidence. Before taking over my responsibilities at many of the institutions where I served, I was often told that I would face great difficulties, but then I find that after one or two sessions my relations with people are extremely good.

[UKTUBAR] What makes Dr Mustafa Kamal Hilmi angry? What is it that makes him lose his unflappable cool?

Dr Mustafa Kamal Hilmi laughed a great deal. Then he thought hard for a few moments before answering my question. "I don't know. God gave me contentment, acceptance, and tranquillity. You know, it is the greatest blessing in the world when God grants a person peace and tranquillity. Actually, I have always known that everything which happened to me was predestined and that God Almighty decreed it for me at that time in particular. That is why the fact that I do not feel angry or annoyed should not be seen as strange. Feelings of anger or even illness are things that will happen to me or to those closest to me in accordance with God's wishes. All I ask of God Almighty is His kindness."

#### **Merchants Report Conditions After Customs Rate Change**

45040460b Cairo AL-AKHBAR in Arabic 26 Jul 89 p 6

[Article by Hisham Mubarak and Walid 'Abd-al-'Aziz: "Follow up on Imported Goods After Customs Duty Changes—Merchants: Demand for Domestic Goods Increased by 60 Percent"]

[Text] AL-AKHBAR has followed how goods are doing in the marketplace since the new customs tariffs were mandated. Merchants emphasize that demand will

increase for domestic products which are expected to be more competitive with imported goods.

Retailers called upon importers to absorb small cost increases for certain products that are not selling well in order to avoid slackening demand. They also added that it is difficult to store certain items such as meats, sausages, etc.

Samir Abu-al-Yazid, director of Al-Sharq Exhibit for Preserved Meats, says that the new tariffs have not yet put upward pressure on prices even through a slight increase is expected next month. He believes that as prices go up, purchasing power will decline to between 70 and 90 percent since a large number [of consumers] will forego preserved goods.

He said the price of luncheon meats is currently much lower than the price of a kilo of cheese, resulting in higher demand. Consumers might go back to cheese and other foods when prices escalate.

He emphasized that wholesalers should meet to set new prices and that they should help the consumer with anticipated price increases by absorbing some of the cost.

He said that he continues to sell his inventory of meats at current prices and that he can not do otherwise because the meats are perishable and they constantly lose value when stored. A kilo of luncheon meat or sausages, for instance, loses about 1/2 a kilogram every 24 hours [as published].

Hashim Mahmud, a clerk at a housewares store, believes the new tariffs will increase demand for Egyptian products since they will not be affected by the increases and are just as good and wellmade as their imported counterparts. He added that demand for such products was 60 percent greater yesterday and today than it used to be.

Sayyid Yasin, manager of a crystal and chandelier store, said that the glass industry has developed so much in Egypt that the local content of products [sold in his store] is more than 95 percent. This means that they will be affected by higher customs tariffs only to the extent of their 5 percent foreign content. He emphasized that such an increase in cost should be absorbed by wholesalers and retailers in order to shield the consumer against higher prices.

Muhammad al-Daramalli, a cloth merchant, says demand for imported fabrics has diminished considerably because of competition from Egyptian fabrics, in both quality and price.

#### **Columnist Protests U.S. Role in Economy, Military**

45040460a Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 1 Aug 89 pp 1, 2

[Commentary by 'Adil Husayn: "The National Dialogue About U.S. Pressure And the Need for Comprehensive Reform"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] When we move to the other arena of struggle between the Arabs and Israel we find that the latter has nuclear capability. On the other hand, there exist Arab missiles capable of striking at the heart of Israel and also capable, it is said, of carrying chemical warheads. How can the super powers control such terrible capabilities and all their potential consequences?

Our enemies are constantly thinking in terms of containment and abortive means and are always scheming to alienate and isolate Egypt. They even seek to exploit its strategic advantages to serve their own interests. The United States, not satisfied with the demand for strict controls on Egyptian war industries and with limiting the weapons imported by our army, now insists on getting more bases, more facilities for its direct military presence on Egyptian soil, and cooperation and coordination with its supply bases in Israel. The United States wants a free hand—if it feels its interests threatened—to use the Egyptian site as a jumping board to any region inside or outside Egypt.

Even though the government does not involve us in discussions of these concerns and risks, we have been studying the manifestations of the tension underlying Egyptian-American relations. We noticed, for instance, a boorish American stubbornness with regard to our military debt. We learned of its refusal to ease them unless the government agreed to the bases.

Later, we observed the crisis of the arrest of Egyptian scientists on charges of smuggling strategic materials used in missile production. We then heard that financial aid has been frozen. That measure, incidentally, was merely an indication that the U.S. was about to suspend aid programs totally. Financial aid is allotted to service military debts and the United States has to withhold aid from any country that does not fulfill its debts under any U.S. government loan.

And yet we notice that the Egyptian government has recently begun a new tact in responding to U.S. pressure, such as by indicting an American on spying charges. This is a serious development in managing the crisis. The activities of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency is much more dangerous than is apparent in this case, but it is a clear warning. This door, if really opened, could lead to painful scandals. The number of those who got involved in dubious relationships with American agencies has grown over the past few years, and we suspect that some of them are highly placed. Regardless of the extent to which this confrontation will escalate, all national elements support the principle of limiting foreign influence and containing its penetration of our establishments. Despite our wide and open difference with the government, it is a known fact that the Labor Party has taken a supportive stand towards these issues. AL-SHA'B has steadfastly maintained that stance throughout the stages of confronting pressure from the United States and the Monetary Fund. We have demanded, and we still demand, that those in power exhibit more courage and

decisiveness. It is time that we, in Egypt, became self-reliant in managing our own affairs. It is time that we unmask those who claim to be world experts. Our salvation can only be in reliance on God, and on our own brains and brawn. [passage omitted]

## IRAQ

### General Interviewed on Production of Early-Warning Aircraft

44040511 London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT  
in Arabic 23 Jul 89 p 4

[Interview with General 'Amir Muhammad Rashid al-'Ubaydi by Ma'ad Fayyad: "AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT Exclusive on First Arab Manufactured Early-Warning Aircraft"; first two paragraphs are AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT introduction; in Baghdad, date not specified]

[Text] Iraqis will never forget the Monday morning of 3 July 1989 when, at exactly 0650 Baghdad time, the eyes of Mr Husayn Kamil, Iraqi minister of industry and military industrialization, and those of the Military Industrialization Organization employees, were carefully following figures appearing on TV screens and monitors while hearts soared when the first Iraqi-made early-warning airplane with a rotating dish, 'Adnan-1, named after the late defense minister General 'Adnan Khayralah, climbed into the air for 21 minutes in the first and final test flight, and then landed on the runway, proclaiming the test's total success.

AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT was the first Arab newspaper to meet with the Iraqi scientific team that accomplished this project. The scientists I met and talked to are distinguished by a special and extraordinary pattern of thinking and persistence in a painstaking operation—one that believes that nothing is impossible. I met with four scientists, only one of whom allowed us to mention his name and rank because they appeared in the cable that announced the successful test on Iraqi TV and radio and other mass media. He is Gen 'Amir Muhammad Rashid al-'Ubaydi (Ph.D., engineering) who directed the project. When I arrived at his office, he was still accepting congratulations directly or on the phone. I asked him about the motivation that prompted them to undertake this highly complex project. He said:

"Accomplishment of such a gigantic project bespeaks the will and determination of the decisionmaker, namely President Saddam Husayn, who a few months ago alluded to this project when he said: 'We are not the third country in the world to have this accomplishment, but rather one of three countries,' meaning America, the Soviet Union, and Iraq, the only countries have been able to manufacture an airplane of this kind. The president's instructions and the direction of the minister of industry and military industrialization were the major

motivation for the Military Industrialization Organization's scientists and researchers to unleash their scientific energies and tackle and overcome scientific problems.

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] How did you handle these scientific problems?

[Al-'Ubaydi] Scientific study was done mathematically, and perils and outlays required us to explore carefully a number of methods and discover several quality-control techniques to arrive at good results for successful designs.

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] What is the military significance of this project with regard to Iraq?

[Al-'Ubaydi] It is a known fact that ground radars are limited in their ability to detect enemy flights. Their range does not go beyond a few tens of kilometers at low altitudes, thus rendering the possibility of using fighter planes limited and costly by using a constant air cover. The importance of the early-warning airplane lies in its ability to detect enemy planes hundreds of kilometers away, no matter how low they fly, thus giving our fighter planes warning and tens of seconds to take off and intercept enemy planes. This aborts any possibility of an enemy air attack and makes it fraught with danger. Hence, the 'Adnan-1 plane is an Iraqi deterrent force.

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] What are the main characteristics of the 'Adnan-1 early-warning airplane?

[Al-'Ubaydi] This airplane circles at several thousand meters and can stay in the air for several hours. Several airplanes of this kind can take turns in the air to provide continual watch to protect Iraqi skies.

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] How did the idea of manufacturing an early-warning airplane with a rotating dish come about?

A task force member who is an aviation engineer said: "In light of the success of the Baghdad-1 early-warning plane which was accomplished in an expedient and scientific manner, since we were and still are in a state of war and our army was in critical need of it, Baghdad-1 took part in the last major liberation battles and it served our armed forces well. Because the Baghdad-1 antenna is located at the rear of the plane, it has a limited direction capability and efficiency. The president gave orders to upgrade the early-warning airplanes to the level of similar planes produced by the superpowers and to put the radar in a rotating dish on the back of the plane, as is done in America and the Soviet Union. We used to think that this idea was beyond our capabilities. Several months ago working groups were formed according to the required specializations and these groups began working side by side on the assumption that each group was performing its tasks fully and successfully. Hence, we conducted intensive and highly complex theoretic studies on the shape of the rotating dish in addition to practical tests in the wind tunnel. Tests were conducted

on a locally manufactured, high precision, small scale model. These studies came out with accurate and sophisticated results that allowed us to learn scientific facts which were the basis of the project's success, for we proposed significant modifications to the plane's body to ensure success and we counted on nothing but success."

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] What modifications have been introduced to the plane structure?

The structural engineer replied: "The plane, which is primarily a transport aircraft, has undergone major modifications. The rotating dish and the rotary dish internal and external bases was designed in light of theoretic tests, precise calculations and wind tunnel test results. Moreover, the metal used and the bolting method were selected and tested and the plane's body was reinforced to withstand additional force generated by the dish. Sensors were also installed in the structure to measure stress and vibration in special instruments inside the plane and in a ground station, and the results were correct and accurate. We also conducted highly accurate tests to ensure the plane's postmodification stability, and certain tests were conducted at various speeds and altitudes over the airport's runway."

After presenting this information, it remains to be said that ever since this accomplishment was made public, Iraqi popular circles have had a sense of great pride and glory and are confident that their industrial installations and cities are safe from any possible enemy air strike.

## ISRAEL

### Attorney Discusses Possible Increase in Surveillance of Citizens

44230162b Tel Aviv HADASHOT  
in Hebrew 13 Jul 89 p 21

[Article by Ron Mivrag: "Did You Sign a Petition? We'll Open a File on You in the Shin Bet"]

[Text] Attorney Avigdor Feldman recently ran into one of the computerized arms of the Shin Bet's [General Security Service] information base. Feldman does not assert that he discovered America, but in a letter to the Prime Minister he demands that the Shin Bet cease gathering intelligence material on legitimate political activity of Israeli citizens. Feldman paints an especially unpleasant picture. Anyone who has signed a petition, participated in a demonstration, or was a member in a youth movement that is not at the center of the national educational trend can have a personal file in the Shin Bet. Most of the information is stored there, including trivial or irrelevant data. With changes in the political climate in Israel, from persecution to intimidation, Feldman fears an especially active movement of these personal files. Maybe Big Brother isn't watching, but this is definitely a brutal and serious invasion of a citizen's privacy.



[HADASHOT] What brought you to write to Shamir?

[Feldman] "It turned out, for example, concerning a woman named Ilana Hammerman, who is a Jewish Israeli, that the Shin Bet had information even on petitions that she had signed, and information on organizations and demonstrations in which she had participated—information that was about 50 percent correct and 50 percent incorrect."

[HADASHOT] What worries you in particular?

[Feldman] "What worries me is that such information will be very arbitrary. Why? If, let's say, in 1971 she really had participated in a demonstration against the conquest in the territories, meanwhile she has changed her views and her weltanschauung and you don't deal with that. Then you were 15 years old—but what happens is that one record remains, and that is that you participated in a demonstration which, in the Shin Bet's opinion, is a subject worth investigating."

[HADASHOT] Have you had the opportunity to challenge such information?

[Feldman] "Generally, the information gathering is behind the scenes, not by open procedures. What is more serious, is that you do not know the kind of activity, the way the information moves, and you are not able to contend with the information. For example, you want to be a teacher, or you are a teacher in a school, and then they fire you. You ask why, and they say there are staff cuts."

[HADASHOT] What you describe doesn't seem like Israeli reality to me. If it is true, then the situation really is frightening. It seems to me that if I were to try to employ you as a teacher, I wouldn't even know how to get at that kind of information.

[Feldman] "Certainly not, but the Ministry of Education sure knows how. The Ministry of Education receives a notice from a parent who thinks that his son's teacher looks a bit leftist. The Ministry of Education says, 'Very interesting. Let's see what the Shin Bet says about this.' They check, and then, yes, in 1970 the teacher really did refuse to serve in the territories, the subject is clearly a leftist. And a month later, the teacher receives a notice that his employment has ended. And I'm not just talking."

[HADASHOT] Do you succeed in understanding how the information gets to them?

[Feldman] "First of all, the Shin Bet gathers every signature on a petition with a leftist character. This goes into your personal file in the Shin Bet. And if you don't have a file, one is opened for you. You immediately become someone in whom they are interested. Other information is participation in a demonstration—even if you were there by chance. It turns out that individuals circulate at demonstrations and list who appears there. Afterwards, it turns out that there is information from bodies that maintain membership lists, such as youth

movements. As for the Communist Party, there are informers there. I assume that the rest of the sources are varied. A neighbor, a wiretap."

[HADASHOT] Hundreds of thousands of persons have signed petitions over the years. Is the Shin Bet able to follow up on this group and keep files on them?

[Feldman] "I agree with you completely that the picture of Big Brother who sits and writes things down is frightening. It may be assumed that this is an affair that requires manpower. But students sit and gather all the names from the petitions. Afterwards, incidental information comes in that is included. Therefore, it appears to me that if there were a better functioning mechanism I would be more at ease because I would think that the information is accurate. But the information that arrives is incidental. They get interested in somebody, and the moment that they begin, all his surroundings are suddenly illuminated: friends, family, relatives. And then the information is occasionally incorrect, defective, and sloppy, and it begins to move within the system and causes great damage."

[HADASHOT] Are you making an historical reference to the witchhunt in the United States?

[Feldman] "There's a potential. At the moment my assumption is that moderate use is made of the information. But if someone decides to use it, and it is available to everyone who is in power, then it will be used."

[HADASHOT] Do you disagree with the right of the Shin Bet to gather the information, or do you rebel against the use that is made of it?

[Feldman] "I challenge the right to gather information on political activity that is outside of the consensus."

[HADASHOT] Even if it could lead to so dramatic a flight as that of Udi Adiv?

[Feldman] "First of all, the moment that this activity becomes illegal, I certainly don't challenge it. I challenge using it for purposes that have no connection with state security."

[HADASHOT] I understand that these things mainly relate to the Left. Isn't the Right an intelligence target at this level?

[Feldman] "I can't know, because the instances that I have encountered involve the Left. I also wrote this in the letter to Shamir, that I imagine that the same or similar generalizations apply to the Right, as well."

[HADASHOT] Is there a law that protects us?

[Feldman] "There is a law with a big hole in the middle. While it indeed forbids the gathering of information about the private affairs of a person or this or that political activity, at the same time it lays down that the

law does not apply to security services that engage in or are gathering information in the course of their regular activity."

[HADASHOT] Do you intend to stay with this on the level of principles, without any connection to one client or another?

[Feldman] "The client needs someone who will submit the appeal to the High Court of Justice, but it is clear that it is the principle that interests me. I'll give you an example of information not being updated. A few years ago, someone approached me, a reporter for an Italian paper who was in Israel for 3 years in the early '70's. And he said that every time he comes to Israel, he is arrested at the airport and all his belongings are searched, because it is listed that in 1970 he was a member of Matzpen [political party] and then he left the country."

[HADASHOT] Do you know of a case where use of such a file or a threat of its existence could be used for extortion?

[Feldman] "That's a possibility. There is no end to the scenarios that unfold from the thing. Regarding Arabs, the use of information of this type is very widespread—especially regarding collaborators. It is important to note that all the activity is beyond the law. You will not find a law concerning the work of the Shin Bet and supervision over it. Everything is wide open."

### Energy Minister Forging Natural Gas Policy

44230186c Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 28 Jul 89 p 13

[Article by Ofer Aryan: "First Steps"]

[Text] For some time now the minister of energy and infrastructure has been stubbornly struggling to implement what he calls a "reform in the natural gas industry." Recently he even asked the Finance Committee to authorize his suggestions in the matter. The Finance Committee held several stormy sessions at which Knesset members heard the positions of the gas companies, which fiercely oppose the reform, and of the Energy Ministry, which heatedly claims that the reform must be immediately implemented. No decision had been made by the time this article was written, although all the sides involved expect the Finance Committee to endorse the stand of Energy Minister Moshe Shahal and to decree the implementation of the reform. For 40 years the natural gas industry in Israel was run as a cartel. Three companies, to which a fourth was later added (at the end of the 1960's; the decision to coopt an additional company followed the recommendation of a professional commission that examined the issue and recommended that competition in the field be increased) shared the gas exploitation and marketing rights.

The state sold gas exclusively to those companies and obligated them to purchase the refineries' natural gas. Gas imports were out of bounds. For years the government covered all their expenses (on the basis of "cost plus") without really being able to monitor operation

costs, executive and personnel salaries, exploitation efficiency, etc. By 1988 total sales in the gas industry in Israel came to 345 million new shekels. Out of that, some 200 million new shekels went to marketing intermediaries, 50 million new shekels to salaries, while the cost of gas at the refineries was only 100 million new shekels. Moreover, the gas companies made declared profits of 90 million new shekels. In other words, out of every shekel that the Israeli consumer paid for gas, 71 agorot went to financing the gas companies, and only 29 agorot to purchasing the gas from the refineries.

Energy Minister Moshe Shahal justly noted that the scandalous distortion of consumer gas prices stemmed from the lack of competition in that branch and from the unnecessary involvement of the government in the field. In view of that, the Energy Ministry suggested opening up the field to competition: additional companies will thus be able to get in and sell gas in Israel; consumers will have a choice of gas suppliers; the refineries' monopoly will be eliminated; subsidies will stop, and so will increases in the price of natural gas. The Energy Ministry suggested that within the framework of structural changes in the industry, the refineries open their gates to anyone interested in purchasing gas there, and the government will not set any specific business conditions for new firms in the field (except for basic safety conditions): no criteria, types of service, regional distribution, etc. will be required, and no ceilings will be put on newcomers to the field. The only restrictions will arise from free market competition. The ministry also suggested that consumers be provided with information on various suppliers' prices and the alternatives open to them in the wake of the proposed structural changes.

The gas companies tried to torpedo the proposed implementation of the reform for obvious reasons, some of which can be clearly seen in the above mentioned figures, although there is still more than meets the eye. They brought up various and sundry claims against the reform. They said that a very long time will be required to implement the reform, during which the industry will be thrown into genuine chaos. According to them, the Energy Ministry was quite wrong: gas prices to the consumer will go up in the wake of the reform. They tried to create fear by saying that they will be compelled to lay off many workers and that the penetration of new firms in the industry will seriously impair the safety of natural gas supplies, and so forth. The strong lobby activated among members of the Knesset Finance Committee did not shy away even from casting personal slurs on the energy minister, throwing broad hints that he may have a vested (monetary) interest in the implementation of the reform. As a lawyer, they claimed, he will represent parties interested in entering the field.

Despite all those efforts and despite political differences among the Knesset Finance Committee members, most of them agreed that there was no substance in the gas companies' threats, that the present situation was intolerable, and that the energy minister's innovations were the right tones for resolving problems in that area.

If the Finance Committee does approve the reform, every Israeli consumer will be in a position to purchase natural gas from any company he chooses; he will be able to change companies if the service does not satisfy him, and there is no doubt that the gas price will considerably drop, while service quality will at the same time improve. For their part, the gas companies will be interested in satisfied customers, and they will have to watch their expenditures. A significant portion of the savings brought about by these structural changes will undoubtedly filter down to the consumer. At the same time, we must understand that although this will be a genuine reform, it will still be only partial.

The energy minister also suggested taking the refinery price for natural gas as the given price. Naturally, since they have no competition, neither are the refineries all that efficient, and it may be surmised that structural changes in that area can bring about a similar result, namely a drop in the price of their product. The energy minister is now talking about the next target for reform, the oil industry. There, too, it will not be a matter of tampering with the exclusiveness of the refineries. What the Energy Ministry is talking about is opening the oil market to additional companies in addition to the three that currently supply consumer fuel in Israel.

Rome was not built in a day and it may be assumed that the structural changes and reforms planned by the energy minister will also proceed in stages. The energy minister apparently can already be congratulated on the tough campaign he conducted, although he should be occasionally reminded that the job is not yet completed and that he is duty bound to see it through to the end, which includes genuine changes in the refineries.

#### **Eytan Recommends Death Penalty for Terrorism**

44230162a Tel Aviv HADASHOT  
in Hebrew 7 Jul 89 p 5

[Article by Shmu'el Tal: "Rafi Eytan: 'A State of Emergency Should be Declared and the Death Penalty Imposed on Terrorists'"]

[Text] Rafa'el Eytan, the former cabinet advisor on terrorism who had opposed the imposition of the death penalty on terrorists, expressed support yesterday for the imposition of that penalty. "I was horrified to hear that there is a proposal to change the buses because they burn easily," he said. "This is an interesting approach to the problem. I am of the opinion that the persons who are now conducting our security affairs should be replaced. We must make changes in all areas, for if we don't, we will be confronted with a continually deteriorating situation and, sooner or later, the State of Israel will come to be like Lebanon. The death penalty must be imposed on terrorists before we arrive at that situation."

[HADASHOT] Previously, you opposed the death penalty.

[Eytan] "Although I was opposed to the death penalty up to a few months ago, because I thought that this penalty was liable to get us into diplomatic complications, it seems to me today, in view of the worsening situation, that the death penalty should be imposed within the general framework of emergency laws."

[HADASHOT] Are you of the opinion that the State of Israel has reached the situation where it must declare a state of emergency, with implications beyond the handling of the intifadah [uprising]?

[Eytan] "For nearly 2 years an intensifying guerrilla war has been waged against us and it is also spreading within the Green Line. This guerrilla war is a war like any other where your opponent uses whatever weapon he has at his disposal. Experience teaches us that in a guerrilla war individuals are willing to carry out actions involving great risk and to end up committing suicide."

[HADASHOT] So how will the declaration of a state of emergency help?

[Eytan] "The declaration of a state of emergency, which would be a declaration that we are at war, will allow us to pass over from the defensive to a general offensive. Otherwise, we don't have a chance to overcome the guerrilla war that was imposed on us. In order to pass over to the offensive, we will have to enter a different legal situation, and the declaration of a state of emergency will therefore allow the implementation of changes that will give the security forces the necessary tools to win in this war."

[HADASHOT] What additional measures are you recommending be carried out?

[Eytan] "If we declare a state of emergency, we will be able, aside from imposing the death penalty, to close off areas, to transfer a hostile population from one place to another within the borders of Israel, to expell the political and operational backbone of the rioters, to seize property and lands for security purposes, and to do everything that we did in '47."

[HADASHOT] But in 1947 we didn't yet have a state.

[Eytan] "I am explicitly comparing the situation to '47, even though we are today an independent state. If we declare a state of emergency, things will improve, and if not—we can expect a deterioration that will bring us to the brink, and Lebanon is a concrete example of that. As someone who was actively engaged in the war on terror, and who himself carried out guerrilla actions before the War of Independence, I can say with certainty that taking only defensive measures—such as gravel bombs, rubber bullets, and escorting convoys—cannot be decisive in a guerrilla war. If we are determined to win, we must go on the offensive. We cannot continue only to react. In order to go on the offensive, we must alter the law and the authority, and we will get that by declaring a state of emergency."

**Expansion of UNRWA Activities in Territories Refused**

TA0409174089 Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ  
in Hebrew 6 Sep 89 p 1

[Text] Ori Nir reports that according to a defense establishment source, the security authorities recently made it clear to UNRWA [United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East] and other UN authorities that they will not be allowed to expand the scope of their activity in the territories over the mandate they received. He said that recently the UNRWA has tried to expand the scope of its services to non-refugee population (especially in the Gaza Strip). The source stressed that despite calls on residents of the territories to avoid meeting with Israeli politicians and administration officials, these meetings continue as usual, and many residents even ask of their own initiative to meet with administration heads of the administrative or political echelon.

**Internal Struggles in Gaza Popular Committees Noted**

TA1009181589 Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew  
10 Sep 89 p 1

[Text] Ori Nir and Eytan Rabin report that Jasir Kirnawi, whose body was found in a dry well 2 days ago, had been kidnapped at the beginning of the month by masked men and disappeared since. It emerged from the interrogation of the four suspects arrested that they had buried him alive after cruelly interrogating him, and making him confess that he was indeed cooperating with the Israeli authorities. During their interrogation, the suspects revealed many details about internal struggles in the popular committees. Also, a senior military source in the Gaza Strip said that a harsh war is being waged between different groups in organizations in the Gaza Strip: "We are aware of the new phenomenon of liquidations motivated by struggles between the committees and the different groups." He added that "some of the liquidations are indeed motivated by cooperation, but there are also liquidations motivated by criminal offenses, drugs and wars of prestige between the strike forces and the popular committees."

**Situation in Gaza Profiled**

44230139 Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ (Weekend Supplement)  
in Hebrew 16 Jun 89 pp 7, 9, 11

[Text] The 'Erez roadblock is the last quiet point on the way to Gaza. The intoxicating feeling that you are entering an area in which the laws apply only to others does not relax you, and it is difficult to leave it behind when you cross the line to return home northward.

In Gaza, you can release your darker urges. You can drive onto the shoulder of the highway to bypass a traffic jam of cars with blue license plates [issued to Arab-owned vehicles in the West Bank and Gaza Strip], immune from the dread of the police radar. If you get the

urge to curse another driver, you can fully enjoy doing so, confident that he will not respond to you. The destructive energy hidden in each one of us finds expression in Gaza.

The roads of the strip are littered with roadblocks. The behavior of the soldiers manning them is influenced by the events of the previous night, but no less by the mistreatment meted out by the platoon sergeant. Punishment for tardiness becomes a pretext to unload one's anger on local passersby. When you are 19, without a penny to your name, and you haven't seen your girlfriend for 2 weeks, and they have saddled you with another spell of kitchen duty, you see red. When a 1989 BMW bearing Gazan plates stops next to you, a security check enables you to search and create a ruckus to restore the honor which the platoon commander took from you during morning roll call.

Such checks are accompanied by kicks to the car doors, bending mirrors, a vague blow with the butt of a Galil to one of the vehicle's headlamps, shattering it to pieces. One is amazed not by the frequency of such acts, but by the fact that after 18 months of the intifadah [uprising], the local residents have not become reconciled with the behavior of the soldiers manning the roadblocks, and they complain about it to civil administration officers.

The press has recently reported interesting uses made by IDF [Israel Defense Force] soldiers of their feces. The truth is that this is only one facet of a comprehensive phenomenon, whose essence is that the IDF acts as if it were in its own domain. Let us assume that the IDF positions an observation post on the roof of someone's house. Not only does danger hover over the life of the homeowner, who is immediately suspected of being a collaborator, but the soldiers also make themselves at home. A resident of Shaykh Radwan complained that soldiers manning an observation post were throwing rocks, talking obscenely, directing shameful calls at girls, and throwing their feces into the courtyard below. A civil administration officer, who was requested to check into the complaint, sought clarification from the soldiers of the unit. Ultimately, he reiterated for them all the rules for appropriate behavior.

The soldiers took note of the identity of the complainant.

If Gaza was ever a nice city, recent months have eliminated all traces of its grace. The edges of the highways are gray with the smoke of crumbling tires. Trash is discarded everywhere, as no one is concerned with cleanliness and hygiene. Most of the street lights are shattered, except those adjacent to the army camps. Most of the day, the iron doors of the stores are closed, either due to a Hamas [Islamic Resistance Movement] leaflet calling for a general strike, or a leaflet issued by the strike committees. After these groups disrupt life, the IDF comes along, seeking to prove that it is the final arbiter by ordering a curfew. After the curfew is lifted, it becomes clear who, notwithstanding, has the last word:



The people remain in their homes because one of the organizations has so decided, and so on. Life as usual.

Thus Gaza appears to be a ghost town on many days. During the last year and a half, the IDF imposed 200 days of curfew on the Shati Refugee Camp. Add to this the general strike days declared by each of the two organizations, and you find that the residents are behind locked doors most of the time.

Nonetheless, when the curfew is lifted, long lines do not form at the entrances to stores and next to peddlers' carts. The people seem relaxed, as if they had returned to their city after a weekend break at a vacation spot. The Gazans hurry to return to normal life and attempt to pick up their affairs where they left off. These short lulls, which offer a taste of the relative relaxation of a peaceful daily life, enable them to return and close themselves up in their homes for many days.

There is no more surprising sight than a vehicle owner taking advantage of a noncurfew day to wash his car and shine its windshield. Even on normal days when the city bustles and traffic piles up at intersections, you will not find a single car parked next to the sidewalk adjacent to a house once evening comes. Every Gazan car owner has taken the trouble to prepare a protected parking place for his car, shielded with an iron door, away from the route of night patrols.

#### Grisha's Initiative

At night, youths go out and scribble slogans on walls and iron doors shuttering the stores. Most of the slogans are written in Arabic and intended for local consumption. Some of them encourage and boost morale, or direct the residents how to behave. Among them are a call to merchants not to overcharge and a warning to collaborators. Very few slogans are intended for IDF soldiers. The soldiers are indifferent to slogans calling on them to refuse orders or comparing them to Nazis, simply because they do not read Arabic. The IDF is attempting to wage a war to the death against slogans. It is investing many efforts to erase them and to also remove flags, although the latter reappear as soon as they are removed.

There are always new, private initiatives. Soldiers of the Giv'ati Brigade used to oblige those erasing the slogans to do so with cans of purple paint, the color of their berets. However, as a result, clean, prominent surfaces were created, which invited the writing of new slogans.

An officer named Grisha of the Gaza district undertook an interesting initiative. One night, he went out with a large paint sprayer to the city streets, treating the walls of houses and the iron doors of stores as surfaces longing for the brush of an abstract painter. On every wall and door bearing a slogan, he spread meters of broad, zigzag lines characteristic of a talented 3-year-old. Grisha was so proud of his creation that he signed the letter "G" in several places. In one place, he left his full signature in all its glory.

This did not stop. One night, Grisha harnessed a road-paving tar-sprayer to his jeep. He tested his new idea on al-Mukhtar Street, on the segment between Medina Square and Palestine Square. For an entire night, he sprayed jets of tar onto the walls of stores, which now look like a blackboard. The slogans were obliterated along with signs identifying the stores. No one could know if clothes or meat were sold in a store. For many days, the merchants had complained about the order of the civil administration which required them to install, over their stores, signs in Hebrew indicating the owner's name, his address, his permit number and whatnot. Grisha came and turned everything around.

Grisha sees himself as having fulfilled a duty in the best possible manner. However, he caused the army great embarrassment. Initially, the IDF spokesman claimed that the oily, slippery tar was spread to make it difficult for rioters to climb as they attempted to flee IDF soldiers seeking to arrest them. But even the IDF spokesman was smart enough to know that his explanation was tenuous, inasmuch as someone breaching an order would be unlikely to attempt to flee from a soldier by climbing the door of a store. Luckily for the spokesman, journalists who came to the site treated the incident as a curiosity, and, because the intifadah supplies them with fresh news every day, they neglected Grisha's deeds. The next day, the IDF found itself helping store owners clean their stores. Grisha's patrol stopped operating in the streets of the city, and he himself was ordered to go from wall to wall to erase his initials.

#### One Young Sergeant

In almost every military office in the strip is a sign which makes clear to uniformed personnel what their duty is: "The IDF must restore life to its normal course to enable the political echelon to function with a calm Gaza Strip." But when the door is closed and one goes out to the street, the wind storm is the determining factor.

When you travel along a road or meander in the alleyways, you do not know whether the child on your left is lifting his hand to catch a soccer ball kicked to him, or is raising a ninja throwing knife. When you see a cluster of people, you do not know whether they have stepped out to get a breath of fresh air or are beginning to organize a demonstration. What about the youth standing on the roof? Is he hiding a rock with which to crush your skull? Fear for your welfare establishes in you one criteria: Every house is a fortified target and each resident is a terrorist.

Twenty-two years have passed since the IDF entered the Gaza Strip and took it from the Egyptians, and the soldiers still treat the place as enemy territory which they are busy occupying. The fact that the enemy is primarily composed of women, the elderly, and children in shorts does not moderate the sense of danger.

Even though the person standing opposite you has no real weapon, you treat each stone as a bullet. The unequal balance of forces does not moderate your grip

on your weapon. On the contrary, it gives you the feeling of power and a willingness to go to the end.

Once, we passed along a street, and a girl standing on a balcony made a sign with her fingers. One of the soldiers could not restrain himself. He stood opposite her in the command car and gave her the finger as a satisfied smile spread across his face. This parallelogram of forces knows no end. When the residents of one of the camps decided to darken their homes at night as a sign of mourning for the large number of killed and wounded, the senior commanders were insulted; they ordered the camp's electricity cut off. "We will show them whose hand is on the switch," they said. When the IDF imposes a curfew, the youths go out in the middle of the night and erect barricades on the highways, as if to say: You block, we block.

The IDF distributes directives to its soldiers regarding when to open fire. The directives were printed 2 years ago, before the intifadah came into existence. Perhaps the high command is attempting by this to emphasize its position that, despite the events of the intifadah, the IDF has adhered to the same principles which have guided it over the years. Officers are strict about each soldier receiving this accordion paper, folding it, and carrying it with him. But no one bothers to read the text, and it is used by the commanders as a fig leaf when they are asked if the soldiers know the directives for opening fire.

When a military unit begins its service in the Gaza Strip, the most bewildering moment of the commanders is when they explain the directives for opening fire. Each commander knows that a hail of questions for which he has no unequivocal answers awaits him. Everyone consumes long days arguing about what constitutes that danger to life which permits one to open fire without running the risk of standing a military trial. The dry directives speak about examining each case according to its circumstances, i.e., the balance of forces between the aggressors and the military force, the field conditions, the size of the rocks, and the age of the attackers. This is an impossible demand to be made of a soldier who is shrinking inside his helmet as he seeks cover from a hail of rocks pouring down on him.

And who determines when I feel in danger? On Friday, 19 May 1989, at 1400, a foot patrol went out to an alley in the Shaburah neighborhood in Rafiah, which is actually a refugee camp. For several days, the camp, whose residents are known for their militancy, had been under a curfew. The patrol was tasked with confirming the enforcement of the curfew and demonstrating a presence. The mission was given to a young sergeant. Behind him walked seven soldiers who were inducted into the IDF only 7 months ago. Only several days before, the unit had arrived for its first service stint in the strip.

A direct connection can be established between the dates of the rotation of forces in the strip and increases in the number of wounded among the population. Several days pass before a new force crystallizes its procedures and

learns to distinguish between the significant and the insignificant. However, in the meantime, it kills and wounds several residents in its sector. A mixture of indifference, complacency and exaggerated self-confidence sent these eight greenhorns to the camp. Long ago, commanders in the strip learned that one way to restrain disturbances on the part of residents is to operate in large forces, part of which are motorized. Eight soldiers are tempting prey inside a crowded camp, which is seized with hatred, has been under curfew for many days, and whose food stocks are dwindling.

For 1 hour and 4 minutes, the patrol quietly went around the narrow, empty streets of the camp. Here and there, rocks were thrown at it, but they could be ignored. In one place, there was a more harassing hail of stones. The eight gave chase, apprehending four suspects. The sergeant ordered one of his soldiers to tie each one of them, and he decided to continue the patrol.

When the rumor spread about the arrest of the four, the residents of the camp went out into the street to protest. Those who had gathered began to yell and taunt. Subsequently, they began throwing rocks at the soldiers.

Instead of calling for help or leaving the camp, the patrol commander decided to adhere to his mission, even though the movement of his force, which dragged along with it another four prisoners, was slowed. The commander went deeper into the camp. With each moment, more and more people gathered against him. He opened fire in an attempt to distance them. However, each time that it seemed to him that he repelled them, he encountered yet another angry mob at the corner of another street. He left, in the path of his walk inside the camp which lasted about 10 minutes, five dead, including a 12-year-old boy and a 50-year-old woman. Another 23 residents of the camp were wounded, including a 3-year-old boy who was injured in his mouth, and a seriously wounded person who was transferred to the hospital at Tel Hashomer. News of the large number of killed incited the entire strip, and in the same evening, the number killed increased to 6, and the number wounded increased to 36, including a 5-month-old infant who inhaled gas, a woman aged 73 and a man aged 75. Fifteen of the wounded were under the age of 15, and 6 were over 50. Twenty-one were injured by live bullets, 9 by blows and 6 by gas.

Initially, satisfaction pervaded the operations rooms throughout the strip. The reports of each person killed and wounded were received with shouts. There were also praises for the force which made raids across the border and overwhelmed a missile battery. The next day, the Southern Regional Commander, Yitzhaq Mordekhai, arrived at the site. He disembarked from a helicopter with a grave expression on his face. Grasping his revolver belt, without saying anything, he ordered that he be taken to the site of the incident.

He debriefed all of the soldiers of the force, their commanders, and anyone who had contact with the

incident. Afterwards, he poured out his cold wrath on all of them, criticizing the procedure of dispatching patrols and the way in which the mission was carried out. "You went out, anxious for the quiet which prevailed in the camp following the curfew which we imposed to indeed continue. Instead, in the space of a few minutes, you have inflamed the entire strip," stated the major general in reprimanding the platoon sergeant. He enumerated one by one all of the omissions of the patrol: The force was too small, there were no support forces in the area, the soldiers of the force were not briefed before going out to the field, the force commander used erroneous reasoning and firing was carried out impulsively and without purpose. To the press, on the other hand, the major general stated that "the force operated according to procedures. There was no deviation from orders, the force operated as it must in such cases." No personal conclusions were drawn regarding the participants in the incident, and when the angry major general left, the soldiers grumbled that "he only cares about his position, because any snafu such as this lessens his chances of being chief of general staff."

However, at the time of the debriefing, the soldiers nodded in agreement to the reproachful analyses of the major general. When they were left alone, they resumed adhering to their basic position: "If they throw rocks at us, must we quickly move off? What will the Arabs think of the great IDF? What is the clamor if several Arabs are killed? The Arabs only understand the language of force. It is impossible for them to be quiet." The soldiers felt that the major general was abandoning them to an unrestrained mob.

According to the procedure for opening fire, it is necessary to do so in stages to the extent possible. First, one calls on the rioters to disperse. Afterwards, tear gas or shock grenades are thrown at them, rubber bullets are fired, escalating to plastic, and only as a last resort does one fire live ammunition at the legs, in which case, fire must be directed at a specific aggressor, and firing must be avoided if other people are liable to be hit. Orders require that hitting women and children under the age of 14 be avoided as much as possible.

Due to a lack of resources, the negligence of commanders, and disregard for human life, many patrols go out on their missions without "soft" means, and the magazines of soldiers are loaded only with live bullets. In many cases, soldiers skip over dispersal in stages, and hasten to take the final measures. "What, all told, did I do?" one of them said. "People who wanted to hurt me faced me."

The soldiers put their weapons on safety out of fear of the major general, not because they understand the meaning of the order. "If they only had 200 casualties in one day, they would perhaps learn a lesson," I heard one of them say. "Would you be willing for your machine gun to be the one to liquidate 200 persons?" I asked him. "What does that mean? I would stab them one by one."

A hidden paragraph in the directives for opening fire speaks about the need to ascertain that medical treatment is given to every person wounded by gunfire. The IDF does not acknowledge innocent people among the killed and wounded. It sees every wounded old man and every 1-day-old infant as sentenced by their fate. "They take their infants in their arms and hope that we will be Jews and allow them to riot. A mother like that should stay at home! She goes out into the street with her child because she wants him to be injured, because then she would receive money from the PLO, and her family members would have food." One of the officers made such statements to us in total seriousness.

The IDF does not view as innocent casualties a woman who is injured as she stands next to the sink in her kitchen or an old man found by a bullet as he lies in his bed. After fire has been rained down on all sides, the soldiers hasten to leave the area, and the task of evacuating the dead and rushing the wounded to hospitals is imposed on the residents themselves. This arrangement is convenient for the IDF because it transforms the Arab hospitals into the only sources of information regarding the number of wounded. Thus, the IDF can cast doubt on the reliability of the information which is reported. The IDF authorities derive their information from the administrations of the Arab hospitals, but they only count as wounded those who are hospitalized. A wounded person who is bandaged and sent home is not included in the IDF count. The day after each incident, the soldiers open the newspaper and smile in pleasure upon seeing the announcement of the IDF spokesman. The operations logs report one truth, and the IDF spokesman reports his own version. This conspiratorial collaboration is understood as part of the war effort. In the incident at the Shaburah camp, 23 residents were injured. The IDF spokesman reported only three wounded.

#### A Holiday

Friday, 5 May 1989, marks the end of the Ramadan fast month and the beginning of the Feast of Breaking the Ramadan Fast. Even the graceless streets of the cities in the Gaza Strip were clothed in a festive spirit. The doors of stores were opened widely and dressed-up men with their adorned wives went out to make purchases for the holiday. Boys in white shirts and girls in gold skirts played in what used to be a public park, peddlers spread out their merchandise, and everyone stood by tasting the sweets special to this day. The soldiers looked on in amazement at this joyful tumult. The chief education officer had prepared for them special information sheets on the essence of the holiday and its customs, but who reads the explanation sheets of the education officer.

Much blood would have been spared had the commanders of the Nusayrat sector read the following, which was distributed to them in a timely manner: "During the uprising in the territories, in which many IDF forces operate among Muslim residents, it is important to be aware of the customs of the fast and the holiday. It is

necessary to demonstrate discretion and sensitivity and to avoid insulting the residents. It is our desire to make it possible for Muslim residents to fulfill the commandment of the fast and the holiday according to their precepts, without any disturbance. On the feast of breaking the fast, 'Id al-Fitr, it is customary to bake cakes and sweets and to go out to the cemeteries in the morning where a pilgrimage is made to the graves of dear ones and relatives. During the days of the holiday, the residents gather in mosques. A short time before prayer, the worshipers gather next to the mosques and pass the time in social conversations and meetings. Awareness of the customs of the fast and the holiday will help us prevent unnecessary incidents stemming from a misunderstanding of what is happening in the Muslim community."

All of these instructive statements were not known to the Giv'ati commander and his seven soldiers who went out on Saturday morning on a foot patrol in the Nusayrat Refugee Camp. They were surprised to see the streets of the camp bustling with people who seemed to them to be moving en masse. The soldiers thought that the walking mass had come out to demonstrate, and they started to disperse it by firing on all sides. The residents, who were walking—as is the custom of the holiday—in a traditional procession to the cemetery, complained that the soldiers were preventing them from reaching the cemetery and were putting an end to their holiday. The detachment was quickly surrounded. They threw flowers intended for the cemetery and then began to fling large rocks and empty bottles at the soldiers, in the tradition of the combative spirit which is customary in the Nusayrat camp. A Border Guard force from the neighboring military camp rushed to assist. By this time, the riot had grown large. In the course of it, 2 residents were killed and 45 were injured. The news incited other camps throughout the strip, and the number of those killed rose to 4 and the number of wounded totalled 150.

The commands already knew what to expect. After three are killed, the major general arrives. If four are killed, the chief of general staff is also brought, and the defense minister troubles himself if five or more are killed or the number of wounded is especially high. Therefore, a short hour after the incident was over, the three landed near the camp. Again, it was discovered that the force involved in the incident had been introduced to the field only several days before the incident, that it was too small and that it did not act in accordance with procedures for opening fire. The major general hastened to reach his conclusion: It is necessary to insist on the movement of forces in large numbers, brief the soldiers regarding procedures and close the strip to reporters.

The events in Rafiah and Nusayrat prove that clashes with the army occur even when there are no cameras in the area. Long ago, Gaza residents forgot how a vehicle displaying a "press" sign appears. Nonetheless, they confront IDF soldiers with the same boldness. The strip was closed to the press for many days, apparently less out

of fear of inflaming the impulses of the residents, and more to prevent journalists from obtaining a primary source of information.

The bloody outcome of many incidents is not especially a result of intense violence on the part of the residents, but of the defective operational method of the forces facing them. There seems to be a circuit breaker between the senior command echelon and the soldiers plodding along in the Gaza Strip. The latter do not understand why the slogan "a good Arab is a dead Arab" has suddenly become obsolete. They do not understand why the regional commander views cases in which there are dead and wounded as a sign of the failure of an operation. The cheapness of the lives of the residents and an instinctive willingness to press the trigger in their faces are the causes of defective military discipline, negligent fulfillment of orders, and negligent operational activity.

### The Hitchhike

When you go on leave from the planet called Gaza, you look forward impatiently to quiet. But when you leave, the way is so tense and strange as to make the trip home a nightmare.

At the hitchhiking station at Ashqelon, a blue Lancha stops next to me. I do not remember if I waved a hand toward it or the driver stopped on his own accord. He is wearing a yarmulke. Beside him sits a soldier, and a soldier also sits in the back seat. I am yearning to escape from Gaza as quickly as possible and from the hail of stones which Ashqelon residents are throwing at Gazan Arabs returning to their homes. The destination of the trip certainly sounds appropriate, and the fact that I am joining another two uniformed personnel removes, for an instant, doubts from my heart. The Lancha speeds off at 100 km per hour, the tape player playing deafening oriental music. In this noise, I cannot hear the conversation between the driver and the person seated next to him. I have no idea if they are speaking Hebrew, nor can I hear their accent.

I examine the person sitting next to me. His face is dark brown, on his knees rests the grey beret of the engineering corps, and he is wearing a yarmulke. This sign of religiosity appears suspect to me. The person sitting next to me has no equipment or weapon. According to orders, soldiers are prohibited from being in this area without arms. He places his head against the window. Is he pretending to sleep to deceive me? I clasp my rifle and reconstruct in my mind the series of actions which I would have to carry out in order to cock the weapon and fire. I conclude that this would take too much time.

On the dashboard, near the driver, something metallic is glinting. On a curve, it reveals itself to be a revolver. The person sitting in front hastens to return it to its place and cover it. I examine the soldiers' haircuts, trying to guess whether their uniforms are disguises. Is the driver controlling the car as would the owner of the vehicle, or is the car strange to him, and he is not skilled in its responses. The tension is too great and I decide to get out



at the intersection. For a moment, it even seems to me that the driver is trying not to stop. I get out and hurry to get away.

### Intifadah Jokes

These are some of the gentler jokes being heard among soldiers in Gaza:

1. Question: How much time does it take for an Arab woman to take out the trash? Answer: 9 months.
2. The Arab is man's best friend.
3. Question: How is it known whether an Arab child will grow up to be a plasterer or a stone-layer? Answer: They throw him against the wall to see if he sticks or falls to the floor.

### Resistance to Military Service in the Territories Discussed

44230186b Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 28 Jul 89 p 12

[Article by Tova Tzimuky: "Is There or Isn't There A Limit?"]

[Text] Last week a group of officers warned in Knesset against a phenomenon known as "grey resistance." The officers, all of whom served in combat units, endeavored to involve Knesset members in a concern that is a direct outcome of conquest and the intifadah [uprising]: increasing numbers of reservists fail to show up for active duty. The "grey resistance" is not an organized phenomenon like the "There Is A Limit" movement and one cannot quite get a handle on it.

The objectors are infantry soldiers who, because of a feeling of alienation, do not show up for active duty, bringing medical certificates as an excuse, or going abroad for extended periods of time. Former Attorney General Professor Yitzhaq Zamir has often protested the resistance phenomenon, which he calls "ideological crime," and there is no doubt that he is worried by it. This week he appeared on the "There Is A Limit" show in a discussion with Attorney Avigdor Feldman, who supports resistance in the territories.

Zamir's arguments against resistance were mostly formal and he made frequent references to the letter of the law. Obedience to the law was, according to him, a primary interest in every society and a precondition for social existence and progress. When the foundation of obedience to the law is shaken society disintegrates and anarchy takes over.

Collective crime is much worse than individual crime, Professor Zamir said, especially when it is borne by wise, responsible people who put general interests above their own. Professor Zamir cited examples from many countries in which the law recognizes conscientious objection and releases citizens from military service, replacing it with some other national service. "I think that in principle one should be prepared to meet requests for release

on grounds of conscientious objection. If it does not involve serious security risk and if it is a matter of a small group, the state should take into consideration the conscientious positions of individuals in society. But there is a limit to that, too. The norm in Israel is that the state does not accommodate individuals in the matter of military service," Zamir argued.

Zamir believes that the "There Is A Limit" movement is an example of a social group that puts its own views above the law. In that it does not differ from settler groups who state that they will not obey any Knesset law that involves compromise in Judaea and Samaria. "The danger in that phenomenon is that 'There Is A Limit' members say: 'We respect democracy, we observe the law, but in one respect the law is not right, it is wrong and immoral, and on that point I will not obey the law.' This is an immoral approach. The person who takes it wants to belong to the state, while at the same time sapping the legality that he wants to enjoy. This also involves a measure of arrogance, because in fact what he says is, 'I am right and the majority is wrong.'"

Zamir is no less worried by the legitimacy imparted by one group with a certain ideology to another group. "That is why Yosi Sarid said that 'There Is A Limit' wrote a complete code of civil disobedience for Gush Emunim." Zamir believes that in the conditions currently prevailing in Israel "There Is A Limit" presents an even more serious danger: the present Israeli society is a split and divided society whose only common denominator is the law. "We don't have strong traditions," he said, "and a tendency to extremism and to undermining the law may lead to catastrophe."

Is the law in itself a superior value, Zamir asked, and immediately answered in the negative. However, in the State of Israel, in which the law is a democratic law set forth by a house of representatives appointed by equal and free elections and expressing the will of the majority, the answer is positive—no less than in any other democracy.

In opposition to Zamir, who dealt with the formal aspects of observance of the law, attorney Avigdor Feldman chose to talk about obeying the law amid the difficult reality of territorial occupation. He did not think that an intellectual discussion of values on the subject of obeying the law was a luxury.

Feldman reacted to Zamir saying that the IDF [Israel Defense Force] does take into consideration and does have a liberal attitude toward people whose conscience does not allow them to serve in the territories. "However, refusal to serve in the territories is a precise and concrete statement. The refusal is pragmatic and given to periodic change, and it is linked to what happens in the territories. It is a purely political and moral reaction." Feldman criticized Zamir and claimed that his condemnation of resistance was based on an optical illusion. Zamir, he added, looks only at what is happening inside Israel, where most of the laws are just. "But the same

country views the territories as an exception, not unlike a black spot in our just society."

Resistance cannot be considered from the viewpoint of value, Feldman said, as if the territories did not have an impact on the whole system. It is ridiculous to accuse "There Is A Limit" of creating anarchy, when in fact "The situation in the territories is rife with illegality and injustice. The Israeli apparatus in the territories has long since lost its legality," Feldman added; "400 people have been killed there, only 3 to 4 were brought to trial, and one was charged with beating. Anyone with half an eye in his head can see that there are 5,000 detainees without trial, that there is no family that has not been affected by illegality, and we sit here and say that 'There Is A Limit' is a danger to the rule of order?"

Feldman described as "naive" those who suggest that "There Is A Limit" members should go to the territories and be in charge of the law there. "Members of the movement refuse to be a part of it. The resistance has a special integrity, and that is its strength."

Professor Leibowitz, who was in the audience, stole the show with an aside he made. He quoted the 19th century American philosopher Emerson: "Good people don't have to obey the law too well." Leibowitz added that this was a matter of not obeying state law, not divine or natural law. According to him, the idea that the state is the highest authority regarding law and order was a purely fascist idea. The question of the legality of the law in the territories is like the question of whether the knife used to slaughter a pig was kosher, he concluded.

### **Troubled Giv'ati Brigade Fights for Respect, Acceptance**

*44230187 Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 4 Aug 89 p B7*

[Article by 'Emanu'el Rozen: "Giv'ati Asks for a Chance"]

[Text] The damage has already been done; even if the Giv'ati brigade should appeal the decision that acts of sodomy had taken place within its ranks and even if it should win the appeal, it will still have to start over from scratch and fight for its right to exist as an infantry brigade of equal rights and accomplishments in the exclusive company of Golani and the paratroopers.

Giv'ati is in the headlines again, and worse: Giv'ati is again on the table of the chief of staff, again up for judgment. About 3 weeks ago she had a few moments of respite. A combined brigade exercise that even included a landing on the beach ended successfully and earned high marks; the media coverage was extensive and satisfying; there was even a complimentary TV spot. Giv'ati was radiant.

There were those who said that by the next day morale there had risen to new heights; others, including the new

senior officer who supervised and conducted the exercise, said that Giv'ati now had its entry card into the infantry family.

And then it all blew up. The press made a big stink about the soldier Rami Sadeh who shot himself in the leg after, he claimed, his fellows in the company mistreated him. The judges mentioned "Sodom and Gomorrah," reporters and MK's [Knesset Members] asked tough questions: Is Giv'ati really a lawless brigade? Why does one brigade seem to have such a concentration of "deviants" in such a short time?

The induction and assignment base began its August enlistment and in the Giv'ati booth they were asking: why did they do that to us just now? How can we 'compete' with the prestige of the paratroopers and Golani?

Golani has since gone through 3 difficult weeks, difficult even for a brigade that, over the 7 years of its existence, had almost gotten used to bad smells sticking to it. The general of the Southern Command, Matan Vilna'i, who was drawn into the eye of the storm before he had gotten one weed behind him in his new position, was hard put to hide his concern. He spoke of a broken brigade suffering from low morale with the feeling that it was being "lynched." He knew that his request for a report from the brigade commander on the "company that was guilty of brutality" was the last thing that Giv'ati needs right now. But he had no choice. Again they are investigating, again they are checking, again they are talking about dismissals.

Giv'ati came to the world in January 1983 as a lesson from the War in Lebanon, when it became clear that the IDF [Israel Defense Forces] needed more than two regular infantry brigades. Someone suggested calling the new brigade, which was attached to the Southern Command, by the name of the one that, during the War of Independence, had led the battles along a front that stretched from Tel Aviv south to the Iraq-Suwaydan highway. A short peek at this history shows that even back then the brigade was less prestigious than the others; in March 1949 it was decided to split it into two and a short time later was dismantled altogether.

Tzvi Tzur, who was a battalion commander in the brigade, once said: "The process of dismantling was not the result of any objective considerations. There were a lot of brigades that were worse than we. I confess that at a certain moment I had a feeling of failure when I thought that we had to dismantle Golani and leave us, but someone decided otherwise."

In January 1983 there was no longer anyone who thought that Golani had to be dismantled. Giv'ati, which was set up and sent on its way in great haste, some say too quickly, had to compete with two infantry brigades with 40 years of experience, crowned with many battles, heroes, symbols, and prestige. It had to compete for the

hearts of the youth being drafted, for its rightful allocation of high level commanders, for missions and assignments that would show that Giv'ati was not a second class brigade.

The speed of its establishment was its downfall. At a superficial level there was a big public relations effort to drum it up, but excellent officers, who looked inside, said "No, thank you," and continued to fight for jobs in Golani and the paratroopers. The two first brigade commanders were officers for whom Giv'ati was their last army post, while for their senior sisters the position of brigade commander was a stepping stone up—to command of a task force and the general staff.

The appointment of brigade commanders from other than the top echelons was a signal to commanders at the intermediate levels, as well. Battalion commanders who received orders to go to Giv'ati made a face. Company commanders took it as serious punishment. Giv'ati, a just-formed brigade, was left with abandoned commanders, guests for a moment, rather than the kind who sought her out in the induction and assignment base because it had been their childhood dream.

A turning point of sorts was felt in the appointment of the third brigade commander: Colonel A, an outstanding paratroop officer, formerly assistant commander of a paratroop brigade, for whom everyone predicted rapid and brilliant advancement. With him the people in Giv'ati hoped that the brigade would become an equal partner in the exclusive club of those who "get" operations and raids in Lebanon.

Giv'ati needed that operational background not just to prove that it, too, could, but also to give those who wear the purple helmets something to be proud of. The War of 1948 and its heroes were too distant and foreign. The paratroopers and Golani had current battle stories and heroes. Giv'ati had to create its own battle tradition, and everyone put their trust in Colonel A.

Colonel A did, in fact, instill in Giv'ati the first healthy essentials of an outstanding fighting brigade and began to nurture within it a backbone of topnotch commanders who had grown up within the brigade. But bad luck and the childhood illnesses of the new brigade produced a chain of setbacks, scandals, and failures, each of which put these topnotch people back to square one. Taken together, they created a deep hole that made Giv'ati a deviant stepchild within the infantry family.

In its short lifetime Giv'ati has experienced almost every possible illness and has had more and more bad luck.

- Serious discipline problems, at the center of which was an incident that was hushed up at the request of the chief of the General Staff and the agreement of the military reporters and has not been published to this very day. A company commander was dismissed there and others were punished.

- An incident of brutality toward recruits. A similar incident of shooting over the head of a recruit. Commanders were dismissed.
- The attack at the Western Wall during the swearing in ceremony of new recruits. The father of one of the recruits was killed.
- A failed action in Lebanon on the Cristofani ridge. Three people were killed. Pilots receive commendations for their brave extrication of the force.
- The battalion commander Shmuliq 'Adiv, may he rest in peace, who was killed in pursuit of a gang of terrorists who penetrated into Israel in the Mount Dov area.
- Four Giv'ati soldiers who were found guilty of brutality in the incident of the death of a resident of the Jabalya refugee camp.
- Officers and soldiers accused of causing the death of a resident of Sajhi'.
- Judges who decide that what happened in the May company call-up of the brigade was sodomy.

Says a senior officer: "When you add it all up, just about everything that has happened in Giv'ati over the last few years was not of its own making and also happened in the other infantry brigades. But what barely leaves a scratch on Golani and the paratroopers is a lethal blow to a new brigade fighting for its right to exist."

The army reached out to help Giv'ati, but not too much. The Giv'ati brigade was included, along with Golani and the paratroopers, in the 'rotation' of regular security activity on the northern border, but it was still passed over when it came to the big raids and operations. Still, the brigade was not denied its part in the intifadah [uprising], and Giv'ati paid the heaviest price by giving up training in favor of police duty in the territories.

No less a price was that extracted by the intifadah on its image. Its dishonorable representation in the courts was the final outcome. An inseparable part of the system of relationships between Giv'ati and the intifadah was the commander who stood at the helm up until 9 months ago, Colonel 'Afi Fine, a brilliant commander brought over from Golani to instill order and discipline in the unruly brigade.

The stories circulated in the press about Fine, a former member of the kibbutz 'Ayn Gev and a 'reborn Jew,' painted a harsh picture, even if it is not clear to what extent they were reliable and authenticated. When Fine was characterized in the press as "the underground operations officer," the chief of staff reacted sharply and said that was an anti-Semitic pronouncement; still, it is difficult to ignore the fact that Fine did not hesitate to voice, within the brigade in meetings with the troops and in sessions with the commanders, his private political opinions which were very right-wing and became even more so after the uprising. Fine told his soldiers that "the war (that's what he called the intifadah) against the Palestinians in Gaza was a part of the overall war for Wadi 'Ara and for all of Israel."

A senior officer told Fine at the time that he was an outstanding officer who took upon himself the task of educator, "and that is dangerous, especially in the case of a new brigade which is spineless, where everyone can influence it easily and mold it like modeling clay."

Fine once said in a newspaper interview: "A part of the substance of command is to influence the loyalty of your people, their way of life and attitudes. There are those officers who avoid doing that part of their job because of the political demon and therefore turn flat."

In 'Afi Fine's Giv'ati his image of a commander stuck very quickly: they called it the right-wing brigade. A kibbutznik who served in the brigade told a reporter: "We here are a bunch of kibbutzniks and moshavniks; we are an island of sanity within this flat."

Fine left 9 months ago and to this day they say within the brigade, not for attribution, of course, that for all of his talents, he caused Giv'ati great damage. When his replacement was appointed, the present brigade commander, Colonel Y., they breathed a sigh of relief. Y., who arrived from the paratroops where he had been a regular battalion commander and a reserve brigade commander, cooled the 'Fine' ardor and set out to reconstitute the brigade. On one occasion he said he would not allow the four Jabalya accused to return to the brigade after they serve out their punishment.

In the 9 months that he has been brigade commander, Y. has logged quite a number of accomplishments: training accidents have almost disappeared and Giv'ati is currently in first place in the military with the lowest number of casualties from such accidents; the 'complaints' have died down, and two cycles of recruits have gone through without a single complaint. A rare fact that was cited recently by the soldiers' complaints official; officers 'raised' in Giv'ati have, in Y.'s office, been given a service program for the next 3 years, and they will be the company and battalion commanders within the brigade at the beginning of the 90's; the brigade exercise won rave reviews, and senior officers said it was a result of raising the level in the battalions.

"The previous brigade commander put all of his emphasis on the lower echelons of Giv'ati, which hurt the battalion level. Y. changed that unhealthy situation," says a senior officer. Another change: the regular soldiers, who are good soldiers but are not destined for command and officership, are today divided equally between the three infantry brigades. Under Fine, most of them wound up in Giv'ati.

In the final analysis, Giv'ati is much better than its image. Up until a year ago, only 66 percent of those inducted into it had requested it as their first or second choice at the induction and assignment base; this year that figure rose to 84 percent as compared to 95 percent in Golani. 61 percent of the inductees to Giv'ati have officership credentials as opposed to 60 percent in Golani and 69 percent in the paratroops.

Seven years after its establishment Giv'ati is still there despite the many incidents it has seen along the way, but it still is not equal in stature to the paratroops, and there is controversy about the gap between it and Golani. In Officer's School, the rate of dropouts from courses is higher than for the other two brigades, and only a few of its cadets become instructors at the school. At the northern border, they rely on Giv'ati for guarding the fence, but it is still spoken of in terms such as: "it is improving, it advanced two classes this year," etc.

What they now say about Giv'ati they said many years ago about Golani. It took Golani more than 7 years to become recognized as a superior infantry brigade. The present commander of Giv'ati says that time will tell. His model is the paratroops. He is fighting with all his strength for Giv'ati to have the opportunity to undertake a serious mission in Lebanon. The failed action at Cristofani ridge and in the Mount Dov region, he believes, was not the result of an error by the Giv'ati commanders, and it is not fair to blame them for what happened.

Y. feels that Giv'ati has to be given a chance. He is sure they will not disappoint. The recent brigade exercise gave him a lot of hope. But afterwards, what happened, happened, and Giv'ati again found itself under attack and in a struggle for its name and its prestige.

#### [Box, p B7] The Brigade Wants Another Trial

It was reported this week that the Giv'ati commander will request a new trial for the soldier Rami Sadeh, because in his opinion and that of the commanders in the brigade, this trial caused great harm to Giv'ati.

In the brigade they say that they didn't even know there would be a trial, and if they had known they would have sent someone under their auspices to testify and the picture would have been completely different. The feeling is that the story was blown out of proportion and distorted. In fact, the judges arrived at their verdict on the basis of the testimony of one officer, who was dismissed from the brigade for incompetence and did not serve with it when the incident at the trial took place, and on the basis of Sadeh's own testimony.

The brigade commander of Giv'ati this week submitted a full report of the incident to the General of the Southern Command:

- The company involved, May company, was composed of normal May company inductees together with 30 high school graduates who were latecomers, all of whom were inducted into Giv'ati against their will. The company commander failed in his duty and left, and there was a large dropout of soldiers. The new brigade commander, Colonel Y., who realized something wasn't right, asked a psychologist to look into what was going on in the company a long time before the Sadeh incident. The problems in the company were located before they were exposed in the trial.



- At the conclusion of the winter drill, the brigade commander decided to dismiss one of the platoon commanders for poor leadership. This was the officer who testified against the brigade at the trial.
- Rami Sadeh was a problem soldier. He was dismissed from the patrol because of social problems and even in the company hardly participated in operational activities because his commanders did not trust him. Later, two soldiers who struck him were brought to trial and sent to prison.
- On Thursday, April 6, the company commander talked with Rami and promised him that next Sunday he would be transferred to another unit and would go along with it into a class for squad commanders. Sadeh expressed satisfaction with the proposal. The next day he shot himself in the foot. First he claimed that Arabs shot him, later he said that a bullet simply discharged and only in the end did he admit that he shot himself.
- At the trial several stories about the company were "blown out of proportion."
- In the press it was claimed that the battalion commander drew the obvious conclusions and retired. This was the battalion commander whose soldiers were convicted in the Jabalya trial. The true story: the retirement of the battalion commander was planned long ago and had nothing to do with the events.

#### Use of Dogs Considered as Deterrent to Intifadah

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[Text] [excerpt] News of citizens arming themselves with boxer dogs trained to attack stone throwers was published recently. The picture as depicted by the publications is that trained dogs roam freely in the territories, identify stone throwers, and attack them. According to Yosi Labuq, a professional dog trainer who is engaged in training dogs against terror in Israel and abroad, it is not possible to train dogs so that they conduct independent routine security patrols in the territories. "It is possible to train dogs and operatives who patrol in the territories together. The operative who identifies hostile activities is able to send a dog against the disrupters. The dog seizes the principal disrupter and brings him back to the operative." Labuq adds, "with the help of specialized training it is possible to teach the dog to detain a number of men and by growing stronger, attain the strength to stop disrupters. By specialized training of mobile teams including an operative or two and a dog, escorts and on-going patrols can be supplied to provide security given the huge manpower shortage. In my opinion, with the aid of 30 dogs, it is possible to significantly reduce the level of violence in Judaea, Samaria, and Gaza.

"Despite the brutal impression given by the method, it is much more humanitarian than the methods used today against stone and molotov cocktail throwers such as live-fire and plastic bullets. In a worst case scenario a bite will be inflicted or a hand broken and the deterrent force is powerful." Labuq has been training dogs for

similar missions for years. "The first thing to do is to choose the dog. The dog must be powerful, strong-bodied, no more than 3 years old, and of sound health. The dog must also be big and the breed does not matter. Large poodles also make excellent attack dogs. Training is conducted with the operative and dog together throughout."

Labuq concludes by saying that the war today is not against large-scale disturbances, but against small ambushes and they are directing the dog to be able to pinpoint by noise and smell. "The psychological deterrent this method gives is quite effective and the system can be learned in a couple of months."

#### Underground May Have Broader Effect on Polity

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[Article by Na'omi Levitzky: "It Will Be Easier for the Next Underground"]

[Excerpts] It began with a small, albeit aggressive, lobby of the wild Right and became an octopus that took into its tentacles members of Knesset, Cabinet ministers, prime ministers, and even the president. The last in the line of benefits, clemencies, and pardons that have been given to the convicts of the Jewish terror organization has been sealed. But the next underground is already waiting around the corner. The police suspect that it is, in fact, already operating, and the inspector general fears that the day is not far-off when the pupils will outdo their teachers and strike at Jews as well. Rabbi Yo'el Ben-Nun, one of the initiators of Gush Emunim, is so shocked by what is happening there among his comrades that he decided to resign from the Gush.

Five years ago, the members of the Jewish terrorist organization were apprehended and tried. Murder, accessory to murder, membership in a terrorist organization, serious injury, and criminal conspiracy were only some of the items in the indictment. Twenty-eight "dear lads" were convicted. Today, only the three who were convicted of murder remain in prison: Menahem Livni, Sha'ul Nir, and 'Uzi Sharbaf. Although they were sentenced to life imprisonment, they will return home safely in another 18 months. Already this week, Livni hosted public figures at his son's Bar Mitzvah celebration—MK [Knesset Member] Micha'el Eytan, for example. "How could I not go," Eytan says. "I received an invitation on which they also wrote a personal salutation."

The first one to visit the prisoners was Rabbi Hayim Druckman, who took care of them as if they were fledgling birds. Within a short time, he was joined by the then freshman cabinet minister Yosef Shapira. "We work together like twins," Shapira said. The pair's first target was the new minister of police, Hayim Bar-Lev.

The prisoners were enjoying grossly deluxe conditions when Bar-Lev entered the Ministry of Police. Druckman visited them whenever he wanted, and even confidential

meetings with them were customary. Bar-Lev changed the rules and cancelled the extraordinary privileges. In a moment of sanity he said that they were just like all the other prisoners. But this didn't last long. Efra'im Me'ir, Druckman's assistant, says that Bar-Lev was afraid of public opinion, "like all the MAPAI'niks [Israeli Workers Party Members]. All of them were afraid, including Herzog." Druckman and Shapira decided to appeal to Bar-Lev's army friends: Tzvi Zamir, Rehavam Ze'evi, and—for a moment—Avraham Aden, but the last one was dropped. "We were told that he was too straight, and that he wouldn't agree to become involved," says Me'ir.

The gambit worked. Bar-Lev changed his attitude, and all the members of his bureau followed. "Since then, I've coordinated everything by telephone, mostly with the secretary and with the assistant Eli Luzon," says Me'ir. "Suddenly, they all became sympathizers." Thus, all the prisoners, including those sentenced for life, went out on leave. Says Shapira: "What didn't I call about! That they would go with or without, that those sentenced to life would or wouldn't go out on leave, and I even arranged for them to go out to an organized Passover Seder at the Plaza Hotel in Jerusalem. I asked Bar-Lev to turn a yeshiva into a prison. He didn't agree. I asked him to make Druckman's home into a prison, but he didn't agree. Finally, he agreed to turn the Plaza Hotel into a prison, and they all went over there. It cost \$10,000." Even the return of an indicted individual, Ira Rappaport, who had fled to New York, was coordinated with Bar-Lev. The minister agreed that Rappaport would not be arrested immediately, but would first go home to visit his family.

They had special relations with the Prison Service. The guards favored the Jewish terrorists anyway. The officers, too. They had an easy time with Rafi Suisa, then the head of the Prison Service. Suisa's assistant, Avi Glick, was mobilized by the lobby. Glick is a neighbor of Avner Fuchsmann, Shapira's assistant, in the settlement of Efrat. They travel to Jerusalem together every day, they reach agreements on things. The situation reached the point where the prisoners' leaves were determined according to the rules of Nidah [rabbinical law regarding marital relations]. Druckman and Shapira had the convenient dates for the wife of each of the prisoners, and the leaves were set accordingly. [passage omitted] After a while, Glick complained to the Police Controller against Suisa, concerning something else, and passed the complaints on to Shapira. Shapira preferred to ignore them for the benefit of his prisoners.

Shim'on Peres, the Prime Minister at the time, was the key person. They approached him through Yehoshua Cohen, the former LEHI [Fighters for the Freedom of Israel] member and bodyguard of Ben-Gurion. Elhanan Yishay was chosen as the contact in Peres' bureau ("Bo'az Applebaum, the head of the bureau, transmitted hostility towards us and we decided to circumvent him.") Afterwards, they also tried to use Moshe Shahal. That didn't work, and they went to work on Mordekhay

Gur. The contact was Yisra'el Har'el, the editor of the settlers' publication NEKUDAH. Gur had been his brigade commander, and they had written together the brigade history. This match went well, and Gur was recruited to the cause. "He is a decent man," says Rabbi Druckman.

They also tried to soften up Yitzhaq Rabin with Har'el's aid, but Rabin refused. Ya'aqov Tzur also said no. In contrast, the investment in Peres proved worthwhile. The prisoners went on leave as usual on Rosh Hashanah, and only Yehuda Etzion, who had refused to join in the repentance games, was stuck in prison. They went to Peres. Cohen and Yishay arranged for a meeting with Shapira and Etzion's wife, and negotiations began on the wording of a letter that would satisfy the Prime Minister. A word here, a comma there, in constant consultation with the prisoner on the wording with which he would agree to repent.

The letter was a letter, but it had no regrets in it. Nevertheless, Peres gave in, and Etzion spent the holiday at home. Yitzhaq Shamir, who was foreign minister at the time, didn't require any persuading at all. He regarded the group sympathetically, and more than once he was heard saying that it would have been worthwhile to handle them as Ben-Gurion had handled the LEHI underground during the first year of independence, and the killers of Count Bernadotte. He would say that there was no reason to make a big deal of the affair, that it should be settled quietly. One of the prisoners is the son of Shamir's secretary during the LEHI period, Gil'ad Pel'ay, and the lobby of former LEHI members was added in his case. As usual, they operated secretly, and Pel'ay indeed received a significant reduction in his sentence.

The lobby for the Jewish underground that arose noisily in the last Knesset was not joined by Shamir, who regarded any publicity as injurious. Tens of Knesset members and also Cabinet ministers joined—Micha'el Eytan, Avner Sha'qi, Me'ir Cohen-Avidov, and Eli'ezer Waldman, whose son-in-law was one of the prisoners. Yosef Burg came to the meetings while he was still minister of police, as well as David Magen, Benny Shalita, Pinhas Goldstein, and still others. And there were also those players who just sat on the bench, as well as mere fans: the Alignment's hawks—Shoshana Arbeli-Almozlino, Ariq Nehemqin, and Shlomo Hillel—but Binyamin Ben-Eli'ezer also made his contribution. He asked only, "Let me do it my way." Ben-Eli'ezer acted mainly for Yeshu'a Ben-Shoshan, who had served under him in the army. Another lobby, Gush Emunim's, operated at the same time. Yehuda Hazani, Moshe Levinger, and Daniella Weiss were the most aggressive. And then, after they had obtained for the prisoners all the extraordinary benefits and conditions, they turned their energies towards the president's residence and the pardons.

Former Justice Minister Shmu'el Tamir was responsible at the time for the release of prisoners of war and the location of MIA's [Missing in Action]. Shapira met with

him and recruited him. "Tamir was for the release of the imprisoned underground members," says Shapira. "And that is only to his credit. He advised me how to act." Tamir went to the president to speak for them, and afterwards they understood from him that the precedent of Kastner's murderer would work here, too. Tamir told them that the latter had been in prison for 5 years, and that their lifers would be inside for 5 years. When the Gibril deal was cooking, a new situation was created. Fuchsman relates that Tamir told Shapira about it before it was revealed to the public. "Yoske struggled with himself over coming out publicly against the deal, but he was promised that if he kept quiet, the Jewish underground prisoners would also be released. I can blow this thing up, he told me at the time, but that might hurt the underground. And he spoke then with Peres, Shamir, and Arens and demanded that the deal be tied in with the release of the Jewish underground prisoners. He was promised that this would happen in a short time," says Fuchsman.

Shapira is uncomfortable with this story. He asserts that he didn't know all the details, that he didn't know the scope of the Gibril deal, that he considered bringing the matter before the Cabinet, but didn't know enough. Me'ir, Druckman's assistant, also confirms that they knew the whole story in advance. "Rabbi Druckman, the families, and the two chief rabbis went to Shamir at the time. Get off it, he told them, everything will be all right. And that was the end of it," says Me'ir. The SHABAK [General Security Service] affair was for them another ticket to pardons. At that stage, a few of the prisoners had already been released, and they joined in the efforts. Natan (Nus) Natanson and Ze'ev (Haver) Friedman, together with Druckman and Shapira, would write together the appeals to the President and would decide on the right timing. "Someone gave us classified material of the SHABAK about the trial," says Me'ir, "material concerning the SHABAK itself, and we decided that it would help in exerting pressure. Nus understood it perfectly, he was aware of such things. The SHABAK was flat on its face, so we decided to take advantage of the situation."

Shapira approached Avraham Shalom [head of the SHABAK] and demanded, in view of the findings about his organization, that he recommend the release of all the Jewish underground prisoners. Shalom ignored him. Afterwards, the president pardoned the SHABAK transgressors, and Druckman and his embittered comrades were forced to wait until the attacks on the president had died down. They also tried to get to Yosef Hermelin, the new chief of the SHABAK, but he didn't want to listen to them. Meanwhile, Levinger, Weiss, Hazani, and Ya'akov Novick, the brother of one of the prisoners, initiated a bill for a special pardon. The meetings took place in the basement of the home of Dov Shilansky, today the speaker of the Knesset, and Yitzhaq Shamir was one of the supporters of the bill. At the same time, demonstrations, strikes, assemblies, and the signing of petitions began. Here, Kahana's people, who were not

embarrassed by exploiting the plight of the victims of Arab terror in order to achieve their ends, joined in.

Micha'el Eytan says that at this stage he would have nothing to do with them, and he left in the middle of a big demonstration in Malkhey Yisra'el Square. The lobby in the Knesset was officially dismantled and, according to him, went underground. Now the opportunity was created for persons such as Dan Meridor to very quietly join the effort. Through Eytan and at the request of Menahem Livni, one of the murderers, Meridor, arrived for a visit at the Tel Mond Prison, in the courtyard wing, where the Jewish terrorists were imprisoned in five-star conditions. They even had a corner for receiving visitors, in order to receive the public figures who made pilgrimages to them. "It's true," said Meridor. "I came there, but I spoke to them in the harshest possible language about what they had done, and they weren't used to that. People came to encourage them, but I told them, first express regret, admit that you sinned, as on Yom Kippur. These persons, such as Etzion, are for me the most dangerous to the existence of the state. Maybe we laugh at the idea of blowing up the Temple Mount, but it's really dangerous, this messianic thing."

Not only did Meridor in the end sign the pardons of the murderers, but even before that, as a Knesset member, he advised them and aided them. He explained to them how to mobilize public and political support, and how to submit proposed legislation for a pardon that would be acceptable even to him. In the end, the legislation was not passed, but Eytan, one of the initiators, said that it was the big demonstration of power for which they had been waiting all the time. It was clear that the pardon would follow. More than 50 MK's voted for the bill.

Hazani, Levinger and partners were only waiting for that. They had already succeeded in introducing the subject of the pardons into the debate on the re-election of the president. The coalition agreement also showed signs of their handiwork, but that demonstration of strength was really their greatest victory, and it was the Meridors who gave it to them. Not only did they get the pardons that they had desired, they also won legitimation—even if indirect—for their deeds.

The lead actor in this Theatre of Pardons was the president, Hayim Herzog. The campaign against the president was coordinated by Druckman personally. Me'ir and his friends relate that Herzog met with Moshe Levinger, Hanan Porat, Eli'ezer Waldman, Yosef Shapira, Micha'el Eytan, and Zerah Wahrhaftig, but only Druckman was a party in the real dialogue. Herzog turned to him when he was frightened by the demonstrations next to Peres's and Shamir's homes. He understood that the demonstrators' next stop was the president's residence.

Me'ir: "Every time he saw the strikers on the way home, he would immediately telephone Druckman and ask and beg to call off the strike. Even during the women's hunger strike, he asked Druckman to intervene. Every

request had the tone of everything will be OK in a jiffy, but that he could not act under pressure." This group developed friendly relations with the staff of the president's bureau. They understood from them that public opinion was important to the president, that a large number of letters opposing pardons had been received, and that perhaps these should be counterbalanced. Me'ir and Fuchsman rolled up their sleeves, and in a short time about a thousand letters supporting pardons were sent to the president's residence. Now everything is all right, the people in the president's bureau told them, you've won.

The president poured out his heart during the many private conversations between himself and Druckman. He complained about the pressure of the Left, about the media, and about Yosi Sarid. "I've heard," says Sarid, "that the president said things about me that a president shouldn't say. This is a public struggle, and I always acted properly for our side. Just as we act with restraint and dignity towards him, so he, too, must act. At his age and in his position he should know by now that there are no private conversations." Finally, when there already was a pardon, Druckman and Shapira knew about it before the Prison Service. The president reduced the terms of the murderers of the underground, the life prisoners, three times. First, to 24 years, partially in coordination with the Pardons Department of the Ministry of Justice. Afterwards to 16 years, and then to 10 years. The last two reductions were dictated by the president's bureau, against the position of the Pardons Department. Only Yehoshua Ben-Zion got the same treatment.

What's astonishing is that Druckman and Shapira aren't satisfied. "We were sorely disappointed," says Shapira. "We got the impression from the president that they would be released, including the life prisoners, on the 20th year of the reunification of Jerusalem. Afterwards, we understood that they would be released at the beginning of the 40th year of independence, after that they told us on Independence Day, and nothing happened. It's a lie that they received a pardon. They received reductions in sentences. We should have pressed harder on those who really influence things, like the president and the prime minister. I went with (Ari'el) Sharon to Peres, and we left after 2 minutes. I also saw no decisiveness on the part of the men of the Likud." Efraim Me'ir, Rabbi Druckman's assistant, says, "This was not the offspring that we had prayed for. This gives the feeling of insult and disloyalty to Rabbi Druckman. Pardons and reductions in sentences had been promised in exchange for ending Shabbat strikes and hunger strikes, and, above all, the Rabbi was given to understand that none of them would sit inside for more than 5 years." Shapira has hard words for several persons who aided him. He says that Suisa is a hypocrite, that Bar-Lev is "unpredictable and not intelligent," and that Shamir "is lucky that our people didn't set upon him."

Last week, one of the released members of the Jewish terrorist organization, Yitzhaq Novick, who had participated in the violent patrol in the village of Karvat Beni

Zayid that left one person dead and another wounded, was arrested. Haguy Segel, another of those released who was full of regret, expressed understanding for the motives of the person who had shot at Arabs on Geha Highway. The father of David Ben-Shimool, who was sentenced for firing a missile at an Arab bus, appealed to Micha'el Eytan and his matter was taken care of. In the next stage, they're capable even of working for the release of Avrushmi. Anyway, why not?

#### [Box, p 13] Meridor: A Little Signature and It Goes Through

The role of mover in the pardons affair was played by the minister of justice, Dan Meridor. Late this March, there was a strange bustle in his bureau. The president had decided to act, and on the minister's desk sat a complete and fully-cooked deal. Meridor was asked to do only one thing: to sign. Meridor deliberated along lines outside the strict letter of the law, in his words, and asked for the opinion of State Attorney Dorit Beynish. The opinion was extremely negative. Afterwards, he asked for an opinion from the Pardons Department. He again received a negative opinion. Now he was confused. He thought and thought, and finally he remembered the game of regret—a bit of regret for a bit of pardon.

"I deliberated a lot," says Meridor. "It was truly a difficult decision. In the end I signed, but first I requested from them sincere letters of regret. I was not satisfied by what they had previously provided, there was no true regret, and I know how difficult it had been to obtain that regret. These guys simply didn't want to regret. They wrote: I'm sorry that I was forced...What's this, 'I was forced'? I didn't agree to that wording."

Micha'el Eytan and Waldman were the go-betweens. They would bring a wording to the minister of justice, argue with him, go back to the prisoners, argue with them a little, and finally the real regret came out of the oven. At about the same time, another known figure arrived at the bureau of the minister of justice. Natan Natanson, a released prisoner, was closeted with the minister for a private conversation. Meridor promises that the conversation with Natanson, at least most of it, was not on the subject of the pardons. So what was it about? To his regret, he says, truly to his regret, he cannot say.

#### [Box, p 13] The President's Bureau Responds

"At the time of the demonstration by the wives of the prisoners of the underground next to the homes of Peres and Shamir, the president publicly announced that he would not deal with the files of the prisoners of the underground as long as strikes and demonstrations were being held next to the home of the prime minister, the assistant prime minister, or any other public figure. The president made his announcement publicly and not through any political factor. Following this, the president did not deal with these files for about a year and a half (from Rosh Hashana until Passover).



"The President never discussed with Rabbi Druckman the subject of the pardons law. The only discussions that were held on this subject were with the minister of justice, as is customary concerning legislation concerning the president. The president can only express sorrow that various persons have found it necessary to attribute things that never existed to their meetings with him.

"Thousands of appeals reached the president from all over the country and from abroad for a reduction in the sentences of the prisoners of the underground. These appeals, which represented a broad range of opinions, were received from public figures, politicians, the chief rabbis, rabbis in Israel and abroad, political parties, and various bodies. The president received the appeals, but never made any promises or undertaking to the writers concerning his decision.

"There was never a promise, to any member of Knesset, regarding the reduction of the sentences of the prisoners of the underground or the determination of any prison term. The prisoners of the underground who received reductions in their sentences served and are serving various terms of imprisonment of up to 10 years, and none of them was released for the 40th year of independence or in honor of the 20th anniversary of the liberation of Jerusalem. There may have been someone with such expectations, and if that were the case, it's no wonder that he was disappointed. The subject of the granting of pardons and reductions of sentences for the 40th year of independence was handled, according to a government decision, by a special committee which was appointed for this purpose by the minister of justice and not by the president.

"The bureau of the president publishes from time to time announcements concerning appeals to the president on matters of public interest. In this manner were also published details concerning the tens of thousands of appeals, from Israel and abroad, that reached the president in the matter of the prisoners of the underground. There must be a malicious intent on the part of anyone who ascribes to the bureau of the president the invitation, as it were, of appeals from anyone in this matter.

"Regarding the subject of the president's re-election and the linking of this, as it were, with any arrangement regarding the prisoners of the underground, there is no basis whatsoever. No one ever spoke with him concerning this matter, and the implication that the subject was raised with him is malicious slander."

#### **First AIDS Case Reported in Arab Sector**

TA0509113689 Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT  
in Hebrew 5 Sep 89 p 12

[Report by Dvora Namir]

[Excerpts] AIDS [acquired immune deficiency syndrome] antibodies were found in the body of a 28-year-old Arab woman who gave birth to a baby girl at Poriya Hospital. This is the first case of AIDS found in the Israeli Arab sector.

The mother, who lives in one of the Yizre'el Valley settlements, was unaware of the fact that she was carrying the antibodies, but did tell the doctors after the delivery that her husband was infected. "He contracted the disease several years ago after receiving a large quantity of blood donations from the United States. Only later was it discovered that they were contaminated," she said.

The physicians immediately ran a series of tests on the baby to determine whether she, too, was carrying the antibodies. [passage omitted]

To date, two newborn babies have been found to carry AIDS antibodies. One was born to a drug addict who is infected and the other to a mother bearing the antibodies who contracted the disease from her husband, a hemophiliac. The Arab mother and her child have been discharged from the hospital.

#### **Medical, Biomedical Research Administration To Be Established**

TA0709164389 Tel Aviv MA'ARIV  
in Hebrew 7 Sep 89 p 4

[Text] Edna Aridor reports that Minister of Health Ya'aqov Tzur ordered the establishment of a medical research administration that will coordinate medical and biomedical research in Israel. The cabinet decided 10 years ago to establish the administration, which will be headed by Health Ministry scientist Professor 'Oded Avramsky. According to Avramsky, 50 percent of the medical publications of Israeli researchers are published in journals abroad, and constitute 1-2 percent of all material published in world medical journals. Avramsky added that the annual public expenditure for research and development in Israel is NIS [new Israeli shekels] 320 million, of which 2 percent is allotted to medical research.

#### **Commentary on Implications of Intifadah for IDF**

44230186a Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 4 Aug 89 p 15

[Article by Danny Rubinstein: "Army's Failure, not Military Failure"]

[Text] Once in a while bits of news, pictures, and gossip sneak into newspaper editorial rooms about the deluge of farewell parties given these days for outgoing regional command generals Amram Mitzna of the Central Command and Yitzhaq Mordekhay of the Southern Command. Everyone is giving a party for them: mayors, clubs, friends, councils, settlements, and of course, various units under their command. Nothing wrong with that and no reason to complain about it, certainly not for

the generals themselves, to whom dozens of institutions and officials who worked with them in recent times are trying to express gratitude through smaller or larger parties.

The question that may perhaps be asked is how all these parties can go on against the background of difficult intifadah [uprising] times with which both regional commands have to grapple every day and every hour. Among the revelers there are many—for example, the settlers who threw a monster party for Mitzna—who repeatedly claimed that the intifadah is a real war. Their claim is not without reason. Prime Minister Shamir and several ministers, including Defense Minister Rabin and Justice Minister Meridor, each in his own way, have reiterated his view of the intifadah as war. But if we are at war, how come people have the time and energy for all those parties? The thing is, the intifadah is not a war. It can be described as such only as an extended metaphor, as in "War on Road Accidents," "War on Drugs," or "The Association for War on Cancer"; in the same way, we do have a "war" on the intifadah.

Those who endeavor to declare the intifadah a war do not have metaphors in mind. They are thinking of real war, and that for obvious purposes: Gush Emunim members and their spokesmen in the Knesset and the cabinet want more freedom of action for soldiers and Jewish civilians to respond with fire to stone throwing, to hit, deport, and blow up, all of which is permissible in war. The defense system and the defense minister want higher allocations, since at times of war one doesn't keep much track of expenses, and so forth.

Another cloud hangs over the generals' farewell parties. In the past year there was a lot of talk and much was written about the fact that the IDF [Israel Defense Force] cannot manage to get a grip on the intifadah. Every once in a while one hears that "the level of violence is abating" and that the situation is calmer. But the clear impression is that the intifadah continues and that it has become a status quo, as Jerusalem's Meron Benvenisti put it. Casting about for someone to blame for the continuation of the intifadah, one comes of course across the IDF and the chief of staff and, for historical reasons (if one can thus refer to the Lebanon war), Southern Command Commanding Officer Amram Mitzna is also held responsible for it.

Mitzna may well be the best example of what is happening to the IDF with the intifadah. No one doubts that the outgoing Southern Command commanding officer is one of the IDF's most talented combat officers. He has experience, knowledge, leadership qualities, wisdom, and courage. However, a closer look at his political views does not go down as well. Judging by several remarks he made (and by Lebanon) some think he is a dove, although his actions in the field reveal him as a fierce hawk. Still, such speculation is not worth much. What is important is that under his command the intifadah has

refused to let itself be subdued and to collapse. Some of the dark blot of the Israeli failure in the territories has rubbed off on him.

If Gen Mitzna has failed in the struggle against the intifadah, that was for only one reason, namely because the intifadah is not war. He advanced through the ranks in the IDF not because he distinguished himself in dispersing demonstrations, chasing after children and stone throwers, and breaking arms, but because he was a first class armored corps fighter and officer. As has been said and written, soldiers and officers who are very good at suppressing the intifadah are not exactly the type to distinguish themselves in war against a real army. A cowardly soldier can still excel at house searching and at seizing identity cards from people in the street. The more the IDF concentrates on suppressing the intifadah, it is reasonable to expect that those soldiers who are good at that will advance through the ranks, but come the crunch of real battle they will reveal themselves as unqualified. If the intifadah is viewed as or declared a war, that will make it legitimate to have the most effective house searchers, demonstration dispersers, and arm breakers as IDF's next generals.

Such things have been known to happen. In the Falklands War, for example, Argentine divisions were defeated by smaller British units. Argentina was close to the front and had far more troops than Britain, but its soldiers and generals were men who had excelled at internal police work, at chasing after youth and government opponents in the Plaza de Mayo, not to mention tossing civilians out of airplanes. In battle against a real army they disgraced themselves utterly.

The IDF is not the Argentine army, of course, and neither is Israeli policing to be compared to Argentine persecution of government opponents, but in principle that is the danger looming over us. The danger definitely exists because even what we call the "Lebanon war" was not a real war for the IDF. Other than the destruction of missiles by the Air Force and several days of heavy fighting (not always successful) against the Syrian army, the IDF in Lebanon was not pitted against an army, but against half-civilian militias, terrorists, and RPG [rocket-propelled grenade] wielders.

The State of Israel should by far prefer soldiers and officers who are no good as intifadah policemen, on condition that they are as excellent as Amram Mitzna in armored, infantry, missile, and air battles.

## LEBANON

### Internationalization Discussed as Possible Solution to Crisis

44040528 *London AL-HAWADITH*  
in Arabic 28 Jul 89 p 9

[Article: "A New Twist in Lebanese Crisis: Tripartite Committee To Turn to International Solution if Arab Plan Fails"]

[Text] Political observers were somewhat astonished by the statement made last week by Algeria's ambassador to Beirut. They had many questions about the statement, and they focused on two points that were mentioned in the ambassador's statement.

First, the ambassador announced that the Lebanese crisis had taken a new turn which had not been previously put before forth to the Tripartite Committee.

Second, the ambassador hinted that the Tripartite Committee's plans had to be reconsidered. He also hinted that requesting assistance from the superpowers in implementing the Lebanese solution was to be reconsidered.

Observers understood the ambassador's words to mean, first, that the statement had the Tripartite Committee's approval. Second, they understood that the new factor in the Lebanese crisis was a missiles crisis. It is being said that General Aoun's government has missiles which it might use. Third, political observers understood the ambassador's statement to mean that the committee will work with the five superpowers to deal with the Lebanese crisis and that it will start doing so with the onset of the coming new stage.

Less than 24 hours after the statement by the Algerian ambassador to Beirut was released, it was reported that a fifth Arab summit could be convened and that the highest ranking members of the Tripartite Committee, King Fahd Ibn-'Abd-al-'Aziz, King Hasan II, and President Chedli Bendjadid, would participate in that meeting. In addition, the meeting would also include Iraq's President Saddam Husayn and Syria's President Hafiz al-Asad.

If this summit meeting is held, as the observers see it, it would mean that the Tripartite Committee will inform Syria and Iraq that it is approaching the point at which it will turn to the international community for a solution to the Lebanese crisis. If Syria and Iraq agree to an Arab solution, the Arab solution will be implemented. Otherwise, an international solution may be inescapable.

Naturally, there is a big difference between an Arab solution to the Lebanese crisis and an international one. An Arab solution means an Arab style solution with no winners, no losers, no scandals, no foreign troops, and no interventions for which Arabs would have to pay a higher price than necessary. An international solution, however, means that new complicated problems will be added to the crisis, and the result of that could be that Lebanon will pay the price for what is happening in Afghanistan, for example. Iraq, for example, may be compelled to pay in Lebanon the price it refused to pay in the Gulf war, and Damascus may find itself compelled to defer an action it was planning to take at the right time and the right occasion.

Ever since it was formed last May 28, the Arab Committee has been trying to work hard on two parallel courses: an intra-Arab course to try and find an Arab

solution to the Lebanese crisis; and an Arab-international course to try keeping the superpowers informed gradually about what was happening in Lebanon and the solutions which the committee had come up with so far.

To implement these two objectives the Supreme Tripartite Committee sent the three ministers who serve on the committee and the assistant secretary general of the Arab League to the Arab countries and the superpowers. During the past 2 months these officials were involved in efforts to persuade all Arab and international parties that the Lebanese crisis was deep-seated, difficult, and complex.

What the three ministers brought back from their visits to the capitals of five countries may be summarized as follows:

- there is unquestionable, international agreement that all foreign troops must get out of Lebanon—that is, Israel's occupation troops, the Syrian army, and Iranian troops must get out of Lebanon
- there is international agreement that Lebanon's sovereignty over all Lebanese soil as well as Lebanon's unity and independence must be restored
- there is agreement between the French and the Soviets that, in compliance with UN resolutions 425, 508, and 509, Israel must get out of Lebanon without any reservations or conditions
- the French and the Americans do not agree on how foreign troops are to be withdrawn from Lebanon—while France thinks that all non-Lebanese troops must get out of Lebanon so that the Lebanese can rebuild their country and regain their independence, the United States thinks that it is not yet time for Israel and Syria to withdraw from Lebanon because of the connection between the crisis in Lebanon and the Middle East crisis

Unlike the French and the Lebanese, Americans are saying that it is not true that the crisis in Lebanon is merely a Lebanese crisis. Americans are saying that it is also not true that the Lebanese crisis must be kept separate from the crisis in the Middle East. Quite the contrary, they are saying that the crisis in Lebanon is part of the crisis in the Middle East. Accordingly, a solution to the Lebanese crisis definitely depends on solving the bigger problem. What the Americans are saying means that the Lebanese will have to wait, and that may be a long wait or a short one, until a solution to the Middle East crisis is found and the obstacles which are blocking a solution to their crisis give way.

Gen Michael Aoun's coup is as an offshoot of this way of thinking and a direct result of it. Gen Aoun, who heads Lebanon's military government, turned against U.S. policy, the Israeli occupation, and the Syrian presence in Lebanon. This is the coup which led to a new crisis within the crisis in Lebanon: a crisis of confidence, a nation's crisis, and the crisis of an Arab committee.

The crisis of confidence developed between the Lebanese and the Syrians, specifically, between Gen Aoun, on one side, and Damascus on the other. Gen Aoun has supporters throughout the eastern district, and he has support from Christians and Muslims in some parts of the western district. His team thinks that Syria is no longer a neutral, deterrent force in Lebanon, but that its presence in Lebanon is rather adversarial. Gen Aoun's team thinks that Syria's presence in Lebanon has become undesirable. Accordingly, the Syrian army has to withdraw peacefully. Otherwise, a war of liberation will have to be launched against it.

Damascus thinks that Gen Aoun is an authoritarian officer who wants to force Lebanon into uncharted waters and involve Syria in internal wars that are beyond the parameters of its war with Israel. Because Gen Aoun sees the presence of the Syrian army in Lebanon in the same way he sees the Israeli occupation, Gen Aoun has to consider the fact that Damascus has the right to defend itself and its legitimate presence in Lebanon. After all the Syrian army is in Lebanon at the request of the Arab Summit and the government of Lebanon and with their approval.

Faced with this crisis of confidence Damascus and Gen Aoun found themselves facing each other in a battle till the bitter end.

There is also a crisis of confidence between Gen Aoun and Washington. While the general is thought to be pro-Washington, since he has good relations with it, his treatment of Washington became harsh when he turned the Middle East table against Washington. It must not be forgotten that President Yasir 'Arafat's peace initiative and Gen Aoun's taking over the reins of power in Lebanon happened during the same month.

Gen Aoun says that Washington wanted the situation in Lebanon to remain frozen until it was time for negotiations between Arabs and Israelis sponsored by Washington. Around such a table Israel would get what it wanted out of Palestine and the stone throwers' revolution, and Palestine (the PLO) would get what it wanted out of the negotiating table: it would establish its independent state. Syria would get something out of these talks: it would get out of Lebanon if Israel were to give up all the Golan Heights. But if Israel were to give up half of the Golan Heights, Syria would get part of Lebanon to replace that part of the Golan Heights taken by Israel, and Syria would get that part of Lebanon with Washington's approval and consent.

The general adds that since America's objective is to leave Lebanon vulnerable to those who would tear off and seize parts of the country, the tables had to be turned against America since we refuse to have our country put up for sale and we refuse to have it partitioned or divided.

Whether the general's position on this matter is right or wrong, Washington now has a new opinion of the general and of the crisis in Lebanon as a whole. On the one hand,

it withdrew its support for Aoun, and it gave up completely its demand that the withdrawals from Lebanon be carried out expeditiously. This was, first of all, Washington's revenge against Gen Aoun; second, it was something that Israel wanted. It seems that Israel will withdraw its support for 'Arafat's initiative.

#### So Much for the Crisis of Confidence.

With regard to the nation's crisis, the Lebanese people are the only ones who are still paying the price of all these disputes and crises between the parties to the Lebanese war. In compliance with Gen Aoun's demand for the total and general liberation of Lebanon, the war in Lebanon took on a new turn that differs in many respects and in a few things from the war that was fought previously.

The war is no longer being fought between militias, nor is it being fought between the militias and the army. The war is being fought between two regular armies in every sense. That fact has resulted in a new crisis for the Lebanese people: the country's infrastructure is being destroyed, and most of the things which are required for daily living like water, electricity, gas, other fuels, medicine, bread, vegetables, and so on and so forth have been interrupted. It has even been said that the destruction which occurred during the past 4 months of the war is many times more than that which occurred during the past 15 years of fighting.

The crisis of the committee lies in the fact that the Arab kings and presidents decided to put matters in perspective so that a solution would give every party that to which it was entitled. The committee tried to dress Lebanon's wounds and it did everything it could to alleviate the crisis of misunderstanding and mistrust and to replace that misunderstanding and mistrust with whatever would serve the interests of both Lebanon and Syria, doing so with the least possible losses and damage.

Observers affirm that the Supreme Arab Committee will not allow the missiles problem to threaten its mission since it can in principle and in fact get out of this crisis with no disastrous consequences to speak of. Observers say that the missile crisis is actually not the main issue. The main issue here is that each party to the Lebanese crisis found itself besieged to a greater extent than it was at any other time in the past. Therefore, each party could do nothing but create small obstacles to impede the peace process.

Observers would not find it unusual that Washington has started to turn away from its former positions. Why then was King Fahd Ibn-'Abd-al-'Aziz's visit to the United States postponed? Why was it postponed when Lebanon and the Lebanese crisis were on the agenda for King Fahd's visit, which was scheduled for the 28th of this month? What is happening in Lebanon now is tantamount to the last few steps in the journey of 1,000 miles.

Most of the steps on that journey have already been taken by the Tripartite Committee. Naturally, these steps appear to be slow and sluggish, but the committee will not stop until total and complete peace in Lebanon is achieved.

The question that remains, however, is this: Will the committee be able to bring peace to Lebanon by means of the Arab plan alone, or will it use the Arab plan together with the blessings and participation of the international community to bring peace to Lebanon?

### LIBYA

#### Employment Opportunities Advertised in Local Thai Paper

45000186 Bangkok BAN MUNG in Thai 13 Aug 89 p 7

[Text] Urgent: Workers Wanted in Libya.

Position	Number	Salary/Month (\$U.S.)
1. Welder	7	280
2. Driver	15	280
3. Lathe Operator	4	280
4. Supply Specialist	4	575
5. Glazier	2	280
6. Industrial Carpenter	6	280
7. Cement Finisher	8	280
8. Cement Worker	10	280
9. Carpenter	20	280
10. Earthmover Operator	7	345
11. Steamroller Operator	5	345
12. Grader Operator	7	345
13. Tractor Driver	9	345
14. Iron Worker	5	280
15. Bulldozer Operator	8	345
16. Tile Installer	5	280
17. Building Painter	10	280
18. Laboratory Technician	3	575
19. Draftsmen	5	575
20. Plumber	5	280
21. Building Electricians	7	280
22. General Administration Officers	3	575
23. Surveyors	6	575
24. Construction Foremen	6	575
25. Highway Construction Foremen	6	575
26. Concrete Construction Foremen	5	575
27. Heavy Equipment Shop Foremen	2	575
28. Laborers	5	175

If interested, bring documentary evidence of past employment, and passports, to the IDOK Employment Agency Corporation, Ltd. 8/1 Soi Thawansak, Pradiphat Road, Samsen Nai District, Phya Thai, Bangkok. Phone: 2790145.

Permit No.: T476/2529. Ministry of the Interior 1112/16576.

Note: Sending agency: I-thap [al-Tayyib?] SA Corporation, Libya.



## BANGLADESH

**Ershad Meets With Chittagong Hills District Panel**

46001629 Dhaka *THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER*  
in English 25 Jul 89 pp 1, 10

[Text] A meeting with President Hussain Muhammad Ershad in the chair Sunday night discussed various issues and problems relating to speedy implementation of the Local Body Act in the Hill Districts, says BSS.

Members of the special committee on Hill Districts and other concerned functionaries attended the meeting held at Sena Bhaban.

The meeting reviewed the post-election situation in the Hill Districts and expressed satisfaction over the prevailing peace in the region.

It also reviewed the progress so far made regarding the implementation of various decisions taken earlier for effective functioning of the newly elected local bodies.

The meeting also decided to set up an office of the special committee on Hill Districts at Chittagong for speedy and quick disposal of the issues and problems relating to the people of the region in general and the functioning of the local bodies in the Hill Districts.

Addressing the meeting, President Ershad pointed out that solution of the problems of the Hill Districts through holding local body elections had been widely acclaimed both nationally and internationally. He praised the local people for peaceful and successful holding of the polls.

The President said this demonstrated their whole-hearted acceptance of the government's programme for solution of the problem. He noted that the local people had also come forward to resist the evil machinations of the subversive elements in the region.

He stressed that keeping pace with the success achieved through peaceful holding of the local body polls steps should be taken for quick implementation of the law enacted by Jatiya Sangsad for effective functioning of the local bodies in the Hill Districts to fulfil the hopes and aspirations of the people of the region.

The meeting was attended by Prime Minister Moudud Ahmed, who is also the chairman of the special committee, Deputy Prime Minister and Political Adviser to the President, Kazi Zafar Ahmed, Home Minister Mahmudul Hasan, LGRD [Local Government and Rural Development] Minister Naziur Rahman, concerned secretaries and Chittagong Area Army Commander Maj Gen A. Salam.

**Prime Minister Says Poverty Down From Early 70's**

46001627 Dhaka *THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER*  
in English 23 Jul 89 p 7

[Text] Prime Minister Moudud Ahmed on Saturday said Bangladesh was now passing through a most stable condition, both politically and economically, and the Government was out to utilise the opportunity for greater industrialisation for changing the lot of the common man, reports BSS.

Inaugurating a national seminar on "Prospected of Small-scale Chemical Industries in Bangladesh" at the BCIC [Bangladesh Chemical Industries Corporation] Auditorium in Dhaka Mr Moudud Ahmed said the Government would extend its fullest support and co-operation to the on-going process of industrialisation, because it believed that it was the only process through which the country could stand itself.

He said prospects for industrialisation in the country were great, particularly brighter in the sector of small-scale industries. He assured the entrepreneurs that the Government would do its utmost to help establish small-scale industries in every part of the country.

Presided over by Dr M. Tofail Ahmed, President Bangladesh Chemical Society, inaugural session was addressed, among others, by Prof S.Z. Haider, Chairman, Seminar Organising Committee, Mr M. Faizur Razzaque, Chairman, Bangladesh Small and Cottage Industries Corporation, and Dr A.I. Mustafa.

**No Editorial Yet on Achievements**

The Prime Minister said the inflation rate, which was contained to only 8 percent last year, was the greatest achievement of the Government despite recurrent floods and other natural calamities. But unfortunately no national dailies ran a single editorial on the issue, he remarked.

Mr Moudud also said, citing a survey of BIDS [expansion unknown], that while poverty in 1972-73 was 82 percent it came down to 56 to 41 percent now because of efficient handling of the situation by the administration. He said the situation of the country, both economic and political, was now at a stage from where a takeoff towards industrialisation was possible.

The Prime Minister laid stress on small-scale industries saying that such industries were suitable for Bangladesh because its raw materials, technology and manpower were all available locally.

But Mr Moudud remarked that to translate the prospects into reality there had to be co-ordination among the Government, entrepreneurs and the banks.

He reminded the banks that unless they disbursed capital during the time of need the much-sought-after industrialisation would face difficulties. Turning to the industrial policy of the present Government, he said the Government had already removed quite a good number of obstacles in way to industrialisation. But, he said, the Government would not claim that all obstacles had been removed.

Explaining, the Prime Minister pointed out that the main obstacle in the way to rapid industrial growth was among others, things [like] lack of confidence of the entrepreneurs. But he held that the Government had been able to restore confidence due to its ceaseless efforts and pragmatic policies.

Referring to the overall progress of the country during the last few years, he observed that spectacular successes had been achieved in the national economy.

#### **Deputy Premier Discusses Press Panel Recommendations**

46001630 Dhaka *THE NEW NATION*  
in English 27 Jul 89 pp 1, 8

[Text] Deputy Prime Minister and Political Adviser to the President Kazi Zafar Ahmed has said the government was examining the recommendations of the Press Commission and would take a decision after the examination was completed, reports BSS.

He was speaking as the chief guest at the certificate giving ceremony to the participants of the week-long workshop on journalism and the law which ended yesterday.

The workshop was jointly organised by Asian Mass Communication Research and Information Centre (AMIC) and the Department of Mass Communication and Journalism of Dhaka University. Eighteen journalists from Dhaka, Chittagong, Bogra and Jessore participated in it.

Kazi Zafar Ahmed who is in charge of the Ministry of Information said question had been raised by some quarters that an editor should be appointed on the basis of 15 years experience in journalism. He said the question was also raised whether the defamatory law should be amended so as to bring the cases of defamation within the purview of civil procedure instead of criminal proceedings.

The Minister said these questions would have to be resolved through a consensus arrived after elaborate discussions with all concerned in the field of journalism.

The function was also addressed by Dr Victor T. Valbuena, Senior Programme Specialist of AMIC, and Mr Atiqur Rahman, a participant in the workshop. Mr Mohammad Tauhidul Anwar, Chairman, Department of Mass Communication and Journalism of Dhaka University, presided.

Referring to press freedom, Kazi Zafar said "We believe in unrestricted freedom of the press." He said along with freedom responsibility of the press also comes which was very important. Liberty and freedom cannot be used as licence, he added.

The minister said the journalists and the newspapers were not above law. They were within the purview of the existing laws in the country. He said in the democratic countries also like the United States and the United Kingdom the newspapers are to obey the existing rules and regulations.

The Information Minister said those who write in the newspapers cannot enjoy more freedom than other citizens of the country. If the journalists do so they would become isolated from the people, he added.

Referring to the utility of the workshop, he said a journalist could never break the code of ethics of journalism if he was aware of law and democratic and social values.

The workshop adopted a number of recommendations suggesting evolution of a press code of ethics, preferably upon the consensus of all concerned.

The recommendations said a commission should be set up to review the press laws in Bangladesh for such necessary amendments of the laws as are not 'reasonable' for the development of a free and responsible press. It also said the Press Commission report should be made public for early implementation of the recommendations.

The recommendations also included enactment of a law to ensure access for mediemen to information of public interest barring those bearing on national security, widening the role of the Press Council and consulting the Press Council before any punitive measure is taken by the government against the press.

#### **Opposition Leaders Deny Approach on Dialogue**

46001633 Dhaka *THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER*  
in English 31 Jul 89 pp 1, 10

[Text] Leaders of Awami League and BNP [Bangladesh Nationalist Party] have denied that they had any contacts with the Government on the question of holding a dialogue on important national issues as reported by UNB Friday, reports UNB.

BNP leaders Majid-ul Huq, Mustafizur Rahman and Akbar Hossain terming the report as absolutely false in a joint statement claimed that they did not have any meeting or discussion with Prime Minister Moudud Ahmed, Home Minister Mahmudul Hasan and DPM [Deputy Prime Minister] Kazi Zafar Ahmed.

The statement issued Saturday night said BNP had been carrying on the movement for restoration of the people's rights and "we like the people at large, also fell victims to

oppressions of the present illegal government, but we did never compromise with any conspiracy."

BNP's Standing Committee member Saifur Rahman said in a separate statement the report of his meeting with Moudud and Hasan was "completely untrue." He said he did not have any contact with them, not to speak of any meeting or discussion.

Awami League leader Amir Hossain Amu said the report was "imaginary" and made it clear that there was no question of his party meeting or having any contact with the government party.

In a statement Saturday night he said, "I think a baseless report was released to mislead the people by concealing the 'present failure' of the anti-people government." LGRD [Local Government and Rural Development] Minister Naziur Rahman's meeting with Mohammad Nasim was not at all true, Amu said.

Awami Juba League President Mostafa Mohsin Montu also denied his contact with Shipping Minister Korban Ali saying the report was "baseless and untrue."

### **Indo-Bangladesh Task Force Panel Makes Headway**

46001625 Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER  
in English 20 Jul 89 p 3

[Text] The fifth meeting of the technical committee of the Indo-Bangladesh Task Force concluded in Dhaka Wednesday with the experts making considerable progress in the task assigned to the committee, reports BSS.

The committee, during the two-day deliberations dwelt on different technical aspects of joint collaboration between two countries in mitigating the consequences of floods.

The experts expressed satisfaction at the progress made in areas like flood forecasting and warning system. They discussed other related matters.

Mr Amjad Hossain Khan, Chairman Water Development Board, led the Bangladesh side to the talks while the Indian delegation was headed by Mr Ramesh Chandra, Member Joint Rivers Commission.

### **Reportage on Bangladesh-Pakistan Panel Meeting**

#### **Opening Day's Activities**

46001632 Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER  
in English 31 Jul 89 pp 1, 10

[Text] Mr Ihsanul Haq Piracha, Pakistan's State Minister for Finance, Economic Affairs, Planning and Development suggested setting up specific targets for promoting bilateral trade between his country and Bangladesh. He said in addition to usual items, new items should be identified for expanding trade relations.

Mr Piracha, who is leading an 11-member delegation at the third meeting of the Bangladesh-Pakistan Joint Economic Commission (JEC) which began in Dhaka on Sunday observed that frequent exchange of visits of the trade delegations both in public and private sector between the two countries would be an impetus to the growth of trade between their countries.

The Pakistani Minister, addressing the JEC meeting, said the Joint Commission had provided an institutional forum for both the countries to make periodic review of the existing relations and identify fresh avenues of cooperation between them.

He said joint venture projects could be established both on bilateral and trilateral basis for which Pakistan could provide the technical know-how, machinery and raw materials, whereas international financial organisations could provide finance.

Referring to the \$50 million credit provided by Pakistan to Bangladesh Mr Piracha hoped that Bangladesh Government was taking necessary steps for early utilisation of the credit.

The inaugural session lasted an hour. Two committees on trade and economic affairs were formed which will review the performances of the JEC and find out any bottlenecks if any, and suggest measures for their rectification.

The duration of the JEC has been extended by another five-year term as per agreement between the teams. The meeting decided to set up a standing committee to take up follow-up actions on the decisions of JEC's Dhaka meeting.

Agreed minutes between the two teams will be signed on 1 August.

Earlier inaugurating the JEC meeting, Mr M.A. Sattar, Commerce Ministry of Bangladesh said that there was considerable scope for the expansion and diversification of trade and commercial relations between Bangladesh and Pakistan.

The Commerce Minister noted that exports and imports between the two countries were highly compressed and till now remained confined to a few conventional items. He observed that the development of trade and commerce between the two friendly countries was at sub-optimum level.

Welcoming the Pakistani delegation, Mr Sattar expressed the hope that the two countries would come more closer in future as their economies were greatly complementary in nature.

Describing the JEC meeting as part of a continuous process towards committed efforts for the expansion of bilateral relations between the two countries, Mr Sattar hoped that relations would grow steadily for the benefit of both peoples. While recalling Pakistan's offer of 50 million dollar state credit with thanks, Mr Sattar said

Bangladesh expected private sector enterprises from Pakistan to take up joint investment programme here.

#### **Piracha Calls on Moudud**

Another report says: The visiting Pakistani Minister of State for Finance, Economic Affairs, Planning and Development, Mr Ehsanul Haq Piracha, called on Prime Minister Moudud Ahmed at Ganabhaban in Dhaka on Sunday.

Political Secretary to Prime Minister Abdur Rahim, MP, Bangladesh Ambassador to Pakistan Shafi Sami, Pakistan Ambassador to Bangladesh Riaz Hussain Khokar and Secretary to Prime Minister I.U. Malik were present.

During the discussion the Prime Minister gave a brief resume of the investment policy of the government. He said, the present investment policy offers greater facilities for private sector development and growth.

As a result of pragmatic approach through positive policy measures our private sectors growing and yielding good results, he pointed out.

He said, foreign investors were also coming up with projects for joint venture investment.

Mr Ehsanul Haq Piracha laid stress on exchange of experiences between the two friendly countries for mutual economic benefits. He said Pakistan too has been putting greater thrust on private sector economic development.

Both Mr Moudud and Mr Piracha underscored the need for exchange of private sector delegations between the two countries for identifying the areas of cooperation.

#### **Meets Anis**

The Pakistan Minister of State for Finance, Economic Affairs, Planning and Development, Mr Ehsanul Haq Piracha, called on the Foreign Minister, Mr Anisul Islam Mahmud, at the Foreign Office in Dhaka on Sunday.

They discussed matters of regional and bilateral interest. The Pakistan Ambassador in Bangladesh, Mr Riaz Hussain Khokar and the Bangladesh Ambassador to Pakistan, Mr C.M. Shafi Sami were present.

#### **Report on Agreed Minutes**

46001632 Dhaka THE NEW NATION  
in English 2 Aug 89 pp 1, 8

[Text] Bangladesh and Pakistan yesterday expressed firm determination to work for expanding and diversifying trade and economic cooperation between them for mutual benefit, reports BSS.

This was contained in the agreed minutes signed yesterday on conclusion of the third meeting of Bangladesh Pakistan Joint Economic Commission following three days of deliberations.

The two sides while agreeing to reiterate their desire to strengthen the existing trade and economic ties, have decided to set up two follow-up committees one each in Dhaka and Islamabad to pursue the implementation of the decisions of JEC. It was also agreed that the joint committee on trade formed during the third JEC meeting will hold meetings at regular intervals.

Commerce Minister Mr M.A. Sattar who led the 22-member Bangladesh delegation at JEC meeting and Mr Ehsanul Haq Piracha, Pakistan Minister of State for Finance, Economic Affairs and Planning and Development heading the 11-member Pakistan delegation at the talks signed the agreed minutes on behalf of their respective governments.

While expressing satisfaction at the outcome of the Dhaka meeting, both agreed to have long-term arrangements for the sale of jute to Pakistan from Bangladesh and procurement of cotton by Bangladesh from Pakistan. The two sides also agreed to encourage joint ventures in the medium and large scale industrial sectors.

The two sides yesterday decided to reexamine and reconsider the single country licensing system for tea and its long-term arrangement for export and to have a joint chamber meeting in Karachi by next December.

The JEC meeting further decided that Pakistan will organise a single country exhibition in Dhaka in November 1989. Both sides agreed to extend the duration of the JEC formed in 1979 for a period of another five years.

Bangladesh and Pakistan in the meeting stressed the need to develop complementarity of telephonic equipment and machinery between them and also agreed to implement the code of conduct between the two national shipping corporations of the two countries at an early date.

Referring to the 50 million dollars state credit offered by Pakistan, Bangladesh in the meeting indicated to utilise those for the purpose of purchasing ships, agricultural equipments and BMRE of some sugar mills. Negotiations on these are expected soon.

Both sides while expressing satisfaction on the progress of buying a sugar plant from Pakistan by Bangladesh under supplier's credit offered by Islamabad, agreed to examine the possibility of concluding a scientific and technological cooperation agreement.

The meeting decided that the next session of JEC will be held in Pakistan at a mutually convenient time.

Later addressing a joint press conference Commerce Minister Sattar described the JEC meeting as 'fruitful' and said all out efforts would be made to maximise the trade volume. He said there are vast potentialities to widen trade and economic relations between us for mutual benefit.

Mr Piracha noted Pakistan was eager to implement the decisions of the JEC. He said Pakistan was of the opinion that trade and economic relations with Bangladesh should be beneficial to both and free from exploitation.

## Reportage on Relations With Asian Development Bank

### ADB President Meets Press

46001631 Dhaka THE NEW NATION  
in English 23 Jul 89 pp 1, 8

[Text] Mr Masao Fujioka, president of Asian Development Bank (ADB) told a news conference in Dhaka yesterday that his bank considered Jamuna Multi-Purpose Bridge project as economically viable. The bank, he said, is very much interested in the co-financing of the project which will accelerate development of the less-developed western zone in Bangladesh.

Asked to comment on the 'economic feasibility' of the railway track arrangements for the multi-purpose project, the ADB president said that the question involved technical issues but the bank considered the overall project "very much viable and feasible."

Mr Fujioka who is retiring this year from the bank on the conclusion of his two four-yearly terms expressed great satisfaction about the expanding bank activities and development support operations in Bangladesh. He stated he is retiring because of his age. Mr Fujioka, a Japanese national, is 65.

About the possibilities about the bank's involvement in the flood protection programme in Bangladesh, the ADB president said that flood control operations were by nature expensive. The bank fully appreciates the serious problems caused by the recurring floods in Bangladesh, he added. He stated that the allocation of resources among different priority development areas was connected with the question of bank's involvement in long-term flood control measures in Bangladesh. He, however, noted that the bank would be willing at this stage to consider financing projects that would help minimise the impact of the floods.

Replying to a question about the impact of bank-supported development activities on poverty alleviation efforts in Bangladesh, the ADB president stated that poverty alleviation efforts would need long-term development focus. The bank considers that sustained economic growth in general as much as specific programmes for the welfare of the target groups would be necessary to alleviate poverty. He felt that the emphasis on economic growth would not of course foreshadow the socially relevant issues for poverty alleviation.

About the bank's role in support of private sector activities in Bangladesh in the light of the financial constraints facing now the country's Development Financing Institutions (DFIs), Mr Fujioka observed

"that the situation in the DFIs is of course a matter of concern." He, however, indicated that the bank would be willing to extend its cooperation to the commercial banks in the country for supporting investment activities in the private sector.

When asked whether the existing project cost ceiling for bank's direct support operation in favour of the viable investment projects in the private sector was too high in the context of the situation in Bangladesh, the ADB president observed that the ceiling at half a million dollars for direct financing operations in the private sector was not too high. He noted that he was now fully aware after his talks in Dhaka with the government leaders about the priorities for expanded private sector investment activities in the private sector in Bangladesh. The government welcomes Bank's lending operations in expanding ways in the private sector, he said while indicating his bank's greater willingness to extend support to private sector activities in the country.

About the technical assistance programmes which involve huge resources for funding the expatriate consultants fees and charges, the ADB president stated that he was also aware of the situation. Arrangements can be worked out to streamline technical assistance programmes in more appropriate cost effective lines, he indicated.

Earlier, Mr Enam Ahmed Chowdhury, Secretary, External Resources Division in his introductory observations at the press conference, stated that Bangladesh's development cooperation with the ADB had expanded in various ways over the recent years. The ADB has emerged as one of the largest multilateral donors to the country, he added. The resident mission chief of ADB was also present at the press conference.

The ADB president took a very optimistic note of Bangladesh's development performance over the recent years. "Although my stay has been very brief in Dhaka, I am nonetheless impressed by the economic situation in the country," he observed. The economic outlook, he added, is very good.

He noted with satisfaction that the disbursement performance about ADB assistance programmes in Bangladesh had improved substantially. He expected that the disbursements in 1989 would be over 400 million U.S. dollars.

Replying to a question about whether the freeze on multilateral lending to China would lead to any enhancement of resource flow to Bangladesh, Mr Ajioka felt that the disbursements to Bangladesh, now already at a satisfactory level, would not be impacted by the freeze.

About the future role of the bank in the light of the report by the panel committee for suggesting possible changes in bank's operations in 1990s, the ADB president said that the report had been more or less in line with the priorities which the bank had focused on. The ADB's role in poverty alleviation and promotion of private



sector participation on a wider scale in overall development process of the developing member countries will further be expanded in the coming years, he stated.

Mr Masao Fujioka said that the Private Sector Division of the Bank would soon be upgraded to a department. An Asian Development Finance and Investment Corporation will also be set up by the bank to help expand the role of the private in its developing member countries, he added.

### ADB Report Summarized

46001631 Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER  
in English 29 Jul 89 pp 1, 10

[Text] Asian Development Bank (ADB) has stressed the need for institutional and financial reforms of the country's two development financing institutions—Bangladesh Shilpa Bank (BSB) and Bangladesh Shilpa Rin Sangstha (BSRS).

The performance of these institutions, especially in loan recoveries, has resulted in suspension of foreign assistance to them since 1985, it said.

Expressing concern over viability of loan channeling institutions, in its report ADB said that promotion of private industrial investment had been a major policy of ADB.

ADB in its policy dialogue has strongly pleaded for reducing the large loan arrears of rural credit institutions to strengthen their resources positions. It has suggested the need for reducing system losses in power transmission as well as realisation of huge outstanding dues. It has pleaded for appropriate pricing of natural gas and electricity.

ADB in its report emphasized the need for expansion of rural electrification programme for employment generation and increase of income in local communities. The bank provides loan in the sectors like gas fields and related transmission and distribution facilities. In the power sub-sector facilities for generation, transmission and distribution are being developed or rehabilitated.

ADB had approved three loans in 1988 for reconstruction and rehabilitation and is engaged in processing two loans for flood rehabilitation works. The flood rehabilitation projects were approved in consideration of the flood havoc caused to the country's economic infrastructure.

Though agriculture is the top priority of ADB but it also extends assistance for programmes other than crops, foodgrain, livestock, fisheries and forestry. Provision of agricultural credit and assistance for basic agricultural infrastructure are also taken into serious consideration. ADB also promotes employment generating schemes aiming at rural poverty alleviation, it said in its 187-page report.

The rural infrastructure development projects of ADB will provide better rural transportation and a marketing network in Bangladesh's two northern districts populated largely by small, medium scale and landless labourers, it is hoped.

ADB had approved 79 loans to Bangladesh amounting to 2,460 million U.S. dollars for 71 projects since 1973. Of the total amount, 11.4 million dollars was from ordinary capital resources (OCR) and 2,448.8 million dollars from Asian Development Fund (ADF). ADB had also provided technical assistance amounting to 46.6 million U.S. dollars for 97 projects, of which 39 had resulted in bank loans. ADB has approved three loans amounting to 232.8 million dollars for 1989. Thus the total loans approved by ADB increased to 82 bringing ADB's total loan of nearly 2.7 billion U.S. dollars.

Meanwhile, ADB's lending to Bangladesh in 1988 amounted to 267.5 million U.S. dollars as against 265.7 million in 1987. Of the 79 loans including one special assistance loan approved to Bangladesh till December last, 31 had been closed and 48 others were at different stages of progress, revealed a recent official document of ADB. Of the 48 loans two were awaiting loan effectivity while two others were closed in 1988.

ADB's loan disbursement amounted to 225.8 million U.S. dollars, an increase of 27 percent over 1987. Despite the devastating floods, Bangladesh significantly increased disbursements last year through government efforts, it said.

ADB's document had words of appreciation for streamlining of fertilizer procurement procedures. Such efforts enabled to procure fertilizer speedily, it observed.

### High Court Says Special Powers Misuse Rampant

46001623 Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER  
in English 18 Jul 89 pp 1, 10

[Article by Supreme Court Correspondent]

[Text] "When the detaining authority repeats the same grounds of detention against the same detenu knowing them to be illegal the action is malafide. The present detention of the detenu is also clearly malafide. Repeated recourse to illegal grounds is an act of patent malafide on the part of the detaining authority. But in view of the chronic and rampant misuse of the Special Powers Act, it seems that it is not enough to strike down the detention as mere malafide. Time has come for this court to consider whether it is a contempt of court to repeatedly detain a detenu on the same ground or grounds, which, to the knowledge of the respondents, have been declared illegal by a solemn judgement of this Court against which there was no appeal and stay."

This was observed by a Division Bench comprising Mr Justice Mustafa Kamal and Mr Justice Md. Mozammel, Hoque of the High Court Division of the Supreme Court while delivering a judgement on 9 July in a habeas

corpus petition challenging the detention of Mr Ansarul Huq by his wife Mrs Alam Ara Huq.

The detenu, who was brought to court, was released from the court premises in compliance to the directive of the court. The court while making the Rule absolute, directed the detenu's immediate release from the court premises if not wanted in connection with any other case.

It may be stated that the detenu was ordered to be released by the High Court Division on as many as two occasions in the past. These orders were, however, defied and fresh orders of detention were served upon the detenu in jail on both the occasions without complying with the orders of the court.

In the said background the court observed: "We have directed the corpus of the detenu to be brought before us today in view of this exceptional situation in order to ensure that our order is carried out if we decide to release the detenu. We do hereby declare that the detenu Ansarul Huq has been detained without lawful authority and is being held in custody without lawful authority and in an unlawful manner."

Their Lordships, while taking into consideration the detention orders passed one after another, further observed: "This only shows that the detaining authority has not applied its mind to the facts and circumstances of the case, and has acted mindlessly, nervously and desparately to keep the detenu in detention somehow."

Mr Khademul Islam Chowdhury with Mr Abu Taher Chowdhury appeared for the petitioner. No one appeared for the respondents.

### Further Details on Passage of Constitution Amendment

46001622 Dhaka THE NEW NATION  
in English 11 Jul 89 pp 1, 8

[Text] The Jatiya Sangsad unanimously passed the Constitution (ninth amendment) Bill, 1989 yesterday before the budget session of the fourth Parliament was prorogued after 50 days in session yesterday evening.

The ninth amendment was passed with 272 MP [Member of Parliament]'s voting for it and none against after three days of debate since Leader of the House Moudud Ahmed introduced the bill on Thursday.

The amendment described as a milestone by Treasury Bench members and opposition extending its support hoping that it will contribute towards safeguarding the democracy and continuing the constitutional process, seeks to limit the tenure of the President to two terms.

The amendment, coming into force on or before 1 March 1991, provides for the office of a Vice President being elected along with President every five years through direct adult franchise.

It also amended provisions relating to fill up the vacuum in case of a contingency by Parliament under Article 55 of the constitution.

According to the amendment the Parliament will be summoned automatically the following afternoon on the day after the contingency arises to elect a President.

After passage of the amendment, the third constitutional amendment since 1986 by the Jatiya Party government and the second since fourth parliament was elected last year, Prime Minister Maudud Ahmed also moved another amendment adding to Article 21 of the rules of procedure of Parliament.

The amendment to the rules of procedure of the Jatiya Sangsad relates to the procedure of ratification of the appointment of a Vice-President under article 55-A of the constitution.

With the passage of the bill, a person who could be elected to the presidency for any number of five-year terms is now debarred from holding the office of President for not more than two consecutive five year terms.

"No person shall hold office as President for more than two terms consecutively," Article 51 (2) of the Constitution said.

Piloted by the Leader of the House, Prime Minister Moudud Ahmed, the constitutional amendment bill made provision for electing a vice-president for five-year term along with the President simultaneously and on the same date.

A Vice-President will also hold office for not more than two terms consecutively. Earlier, a vice-president was used to be appointed by the President and remained in the office till he enjoyed the confidence of the President.

The constitution (ninth amendment) bill, 1989, amended several articles and the fourth schedule of the Constitution for holding elections to the offices of the President and the Vice-President simultaneously and at the same time and regularly every five years.

A new article inserted after article 55, says: "55-A vacancy during the term of Vice President—(1)if a vacancy occurs in the office of vice-president by reason of his death, resignation, impeachment or removal, the president shall appoint a person qualified for election as vice president to be Vice President who shall take office upon confirmation by the votes of a majority of the total number of members of Parliament and shall hold the office of Vice President until a Vice-President elected to fill such vacancy enters upon his office.

(2) If the appointment of the Vice President is neither confirmed nor refused confirmation by Parliament within 90 (ninety) days of the submission of the appointment before Parliament, the person appointed shall take office as if his appointment had been confirmed by Parliament.

A new clause has been inserted after clause 4 of Article 72 regarding the functions of the President during any contingency which says: "4-A: if any contingency as mentioned in clause 3 of article 55 arises at anytime when Parliament stands dissolved or is not in session, it shall not withstanding anything contained in this constitution, stand summoned to meet at the Parliament house at noon on the following day on which such contingency arises, and the Parliament so summoned to meet shall stand prorogued or dissolved as before, as the case may be, after it has made necessary provisions for the discharge of the functions of the President."

### Planning Panel Notes Fall in Population Growth Rate

46001624 Dhaka THE NEW NATION  
in English 18 Jul 89 pp 1, 8

[Article by Hassan Abul Quasem]

[Text] The rate of growth of population recorded a decline to 2.2 percent in 1981 from 2.3 percent in 1987.

The recently published "Bangladesh population data sheet for 1988" by the Planning Commission showed this. It depicted a comparatively positive development relating to the country's demographic, health and population parameters. The sheet, prepared by the Population Development and Evaluation Unit of the Planning Commission, further showed that the crude birth rate (CBR), as estimated by the number in per thousand live-births declined to the range of 35-36 in 1988 as against 38 in 1987. The crude death rate (CDR) declined to 13 to 14 (per thousand) in 1988 as against 15 in 1987. But according to the Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics (BBS), the CBR and the CDR were at 34 and 11 to 12 respectively.

Though the government has direct evidence about the declining growth level of the country's population, it relied heavily on the indirect evidence based on the contraceptive prevalence rate (CPR). The CPR was 30 percent in 1987.

Though the Planning Commission and Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics (BBS) estimated the population growth at the same level in 1988, their figures varied widely with respect to the CBR, CDR, CPR. To achieve the CBR of 34 (BBS), the CPR should be at 40 percent which BBS did not at all take care, government officials said. The BBS's estimate of CBR at 34 is very much close to the third plan target of 33, which experts described as absurd.

The total fertility rate which is another defined indicator also declined to 5.4 in 1988 compared to 4.6 in 1987.

At 2.2 percent growth rate, according to the official statistics (Planning Commission), the doubling of country's population will now take 32 years, instead of 30 years. The total population was estimated at 107.9 million in 1988 as against 105.5 million the previous

year. The percentage of male and female population were 55.6 and 52.3 in 1988 compared to 54.3 and 52.2 respectively. The child mortality (1-4 age group) rate also declined to 13.8 in 1988 than 15.2 in 1987. The child mortality rate recorded highest at 18.8 percent at Serajganj in 1988. The maternal mortality rate also declined to 5.7 in 1988 against 6 in 1987.

The population density has recorded an increase with the increasing number of absolute of population. Density rose to 947 per square kilometre in 1988 compared to 922 in 1987 which excludes the river and forest areas, the report said.

The per capita cropped area was also projected to have declined to .20 acre in 1988 from .21 in the preceding year reflecting a more deteriorating situation.

The population data sheet also reveals that the per capita Gross National Product (GNP) at factor cost rose to 174 dollar (Tk 5421) in 1987-88 despite the flood compared to 147 dollar (Tk 4407) in 1986. This GNP includes the inward remittances from Bangladeshis living abroad and other invisible flows of income from abroad.

The data sheet also reveals that the enrolment of the primary school-aged children (5-9) also increased to 74.7 percent of the school-aged children in 1987 against 61.54 percent in 1985.

The enrolment in the secondary schools, however, declined considerably in 1987 than 1985. The percentage of the enrolled in the secondary schools declined to 14.3 percent in 1987 as against 16.05 percent in 1985.

In the primary school, the percentage of the enrolment of the girls is higher than that of their male counterparts.

The data sheet also shows that the agriculture sector is still the largest employer of the country's labour force and it ranked top by employing 57.2 percent of the country's total employed labour force followed by trade and services employing 30.7 percent. The manufacturing sector employed only 9.9 percent, according to 85-86 figure.

In the population structure the dominance of 0-4 age group population declined to 15.1 percent in 1988 compared to 15-45 percent in 87.

### Editorial Questions Whether National Debt Sustainable

46001626 Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER  
in English 22 Jul 89 p 5

[Editorial: "The Dynamics of Debt"]

[Text] When economists speak of the sustainability of debt they are referring to the effect of debt on the economy if it continues to grow at the present rate. Should debt as a proportion of income rise indefinitely the rate of borrowing cannot last but if debt in relation to

income flattens out, and at a level that is not frightening, then the present rate of borrowing of a nation is sustainable for the economy.

Looking at the dynamics of debt in relation to our own economy it is apparent even to a layman that the amount of borrowing is increasing year by year and seemingly at an alarming rate but whether or not it is within our means of control is not so readily apparent, or readily understandable, so let us take a closer look to see whether it is 'sustainable.'

Each year the change in a country's debt is equal to its current-account balance which for us is in deficit. This year's deficit is equal to 8 percent of the GDP [gross domestic product] which amounts to USD 1.2 billion which means our additional debt this year is USD 1.2 billion to be added to the outstanding debt of USD 9.4779 billion, making the total USD 10.6779 billion. This in turn is 70 percent of the GDP. Whether or not this is sustainable has to be looked at closely if we are not to be headed for ruination.

With the existing debt-ratio of 70 percent and the economy growth rate at 2 percent, our debt, if it is to remain steady must not grow at more than 2 percent, the same as the economy which will hold the ratio of debt to GDP constant but our debt is growing at the rate of 8 percent. Therefore our stock of debt is rising faster than the economy's growth rate therefore causing the ratio of debt to GDP to rise but not necessarily indefinitely. For instance if the current-account deficit as a percentage of GDP had doubled then the debt-ratio eventually doubles too and the debt-GDP ratio levels out but the interim period can be hastling.

To make it clearer the current-account is composed of the balance of visible trade and the balance of debt-interest payments. We know that the amount of debt is 70 percent of the GDP and the overall current-account deficit is 8 percent and economic growth is 2 percent, as announced by the Finance Minister in his Budget speech. Interest payments are in the region of 4 percent GDP, therefore the visible trade deficit is 12 percent. The debt at 8 percent is growing faster than the economy by 6 percent (8-2), therefore the ratio of debt to GDP will continue to rise and at this rate it can only be contained if the current account deficit remains constant as a percentage of GDP and at the same time the growth rate of the economy can be accelerated.

What it all means is that the stock of debt should not rise faster than the economy's growth rate if debt is to remain sustainable, therefore the growth rate must eventually reach 8 percent if the debt-ratio with GDP is to remain constant. To get out of the clutches of debt we shall need to take our trade deficit and turn it around and place it in surplus, no easy task but unless we do so, at the present rate, the debt-ratio will rise indefinitely. With a growth rate of 2 percent, paying an interest rate of 4 percent on its debt, we need a trade surplus of 0.7 percent to hold our debt steady at 70 percent. If the

growth rate exceeds the interest rate the ratio can be held steady even though there is a visible trade deficit which for us means we must maintain a constant economic growth rate higher than 4 percent per year, if the elements allow.

## INDIA

### Gandhi Addresses Congress Party Parliamentary Meeting

46001608 Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA  
in English 29 Jul 89 pp 1, 24

[Text] The Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, said here today that it was surprising that leaders like Mr A. B. Vajpayee and Mr L. K. Advani of the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] and Mr E. M. S. Namboodiripad and Mr Jyoti Basu of the CPM [Marxist Communist Party] with distinct and different ideological and national perspectives were being led on the political stage to participate in a drama by someone whose only claim to fame was the silver screen.

Addressing the Congress parliamentary party meeting, Mr Gandhi said that everybody enjoys seeing a film for two or three hours. There is even perhaps ecstasy at staging a drama for a day or two. But dramas which are staged never stand the test of time, especially in national life. If the opposition wished to have some publicity from their theatrics they could have it, at best, for a few days. The people would, however, see through their game, he said.

Briefing newsmen on the CPP [Chief Public Prosecutor] meeting, one of its secretary said that Mr Gandhi made the point that whole the Congress was working towards strengthening of democracy, the opposition was bent on weakening the very roots of democracy.

He accused the opposition of running away from a debate in Parliament on the comptroller and auditor-general's report on the Bofors gun deal after having demanded it.

"Rather than going through with their own demand for a discussion, the opposition ran away because they realized that there was nothing in the CAG [Comptroller and Auditor General] report against the Prime Minister," Mr Gandhi said.

Stating that he would not like to go into the details of the report as the government's position had been made clear, by the defence minister, Mr K. C. Pant, he said the report had looked at issues from the "financial angle" and from this angle, the "Congress has less to answer than the opposition."

Mr Gandhi said if the CAG report contained any reference to the Prime Minister it was by way of query as to why the Prime Minister's noting, on the need to "tighten financial evaluation procedures and make them thorough," was not taken into account.

The Prime Minister's meeting with the Congress MP [Member of Parliament]s was primarily to apprise them of the proposed constitutional amendment bill to strengthen and devolve power to urban local bodies.

He said it was the second major step in the devolution of power to the people, the first being the bill relating to the panchayati raj institutions.

He said the proposed bill devolving powers to municipalities, corporations and nagarpalikas will come up for consideration and approval by the cabinet tomorrow.

It is being finalized after wide ranging discussions and intensive consultations. The congress working committee also discussed it in detail at its extended meeting yesterday.

Expressing grief at the loss of life and property in the floods in various parts of the country, Mr Gandhi called upon the AICC [All India Congress Committee], PCC [Pradesh Congress Committee]s and other Congress organizations like the Seva Dal to actively take up relief works.

The party working committee had yesterday asked all party MPs and legislators to give one month's salary for flood relief immediately.

Mr Gandhi said he had already released funds for flood relief from the prime Minister's Relief Fund and would release more funds, if necessary.

PTI adds: Mr Gandhi today said the en masse resignation of the Opposition had not weakened the Congress and this would be "decisively reflected" in the next general elections.

He said the Congress wished to discuss and debate the report of the CAG. Discussion and debate was not on the CAG as an individual. It was the report that the party wished to discuss.

The Prime Minister added that the government had wanted the report to be referred to the public accounts committee. But both in the Lok Sabha and the Rajya Sabha the opposition had made the report an issue and demanded that it should be discussed. The Congress party readily agreed to this demand and called for an immediate debate.

He said the important point was that it was the opposition which had demanded the debate. Perhaps the only fault of the Congress was that they responded and agreed to the opposition's demand immediately. Rater than going through with their own demand for a discussion, the opposition ran away.

Mr Gandhi said that it was now clear that the actions of the opposition did not arise because of what was contained in the CAG report or out of any respect or regard that they had for democracy or for the constitution.

He said it needed to be asked as to why the opposition flouted all democratic norms and behaved in the manner that they did.

Cheap Tactics: The Congress Working Committee [CWC] chastised the opposition for destroying parliamentary traditions and launched a frontal attack on the right-wing Bharatiya Janata Party for its stand on the Ayodhya issue and on the leftist parties for joining hands with communal, reactionary and feudal forces for what they themselves perceived as short-term gains, adds TOINS.

The political resolution adopted late last night by the extended meeting of the CWC deprecated the "cheap tactics" of these political parties which were indicative of their political desperation and desire to run away from issues rather than face them.

#### More Detail on Gandhi Remark on Election Date

46001612 Calcutta THE STATESMAN  
in English 27 Jul 89 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, July 26.—The Prime Minister today ruled out the possibility of dissolving the Lok Sabha now, reports PTI.

"We will go through the business of the House," Mr Rajiv Gandhi told reporters here.

This set aside speculations that Mr Gandhi could dissolve the Lok Sabha in the wake of the resignation of Opposition members from the House.

Mr Gandhi, however, said the present monsoon session could be the last one before the next elections. Though he was not categorical, Mr Gandhi said the elections would be held on time. The elections are scheduled for mid-December.

The Prime Minister said that this means that by mid-November "we will have to start the election process." He said that usually, the winter session begins around that time.

UNI adds: Mr Gandhi was critical of the Opposition, saying it was "incredible that the Rightist and Leftist parties had come together to demand his resignation".

About the elections, Mr Gandhi said the Opposition had talked of mid-term polls as early as in 1987, and then had said elections would be held in 1988. "Now they predict that we might postpone the elections. What does it all mean," he asked.

#### Further Reaction to Listing of India Under 'Super 301'

##### Commerce Minister's Remarks

46001593 Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH  
in English 5 Aug 89 p 4

[Text] New Delhi, Aug 4 (PTI): India is ready to negotiate with the United States on trade and investment but



"we will not bow down to any pressure or threat," the commerce minister Mr Dinesh Singh, declared in the Lok Sabha today.

Referring to Washington's listing India as a priority country under "Super 301" provisions of US Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act, 1988, Mr Singh said the US "is seeking to assume jurisdiction to determine if our economic policies are fair or equitable."

Sharing the serious concern voiced by members in the discussion on a call attention motion raised by Dr G.S. Rajhans (Congress-I) and others, Mr Dinesh Singh said the US had listed certain aspects of our "policies on investment and insurance as priority practices whose elimination it must seek within a time-bound period."

He said: "This is an unwarranted encroachment on India's sovereignty," and added: "We shall not bow down to pressure from any one country."

Referring to the policies laid down by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Mr Singh said, "We have chosen to build a self-reliant economy. We are now a major industrialized country. We should not be concerned at this gross interference in our domestic economic policy."

He said: "How shall we choose our strategy on an absurd matter, on a transparent issue? Even on merits we do not see any reason to negotiate on this. Though we have not declined to negotiate, we shall do so in an appropriate forum such as the Indo-US commission."

Mr Singh said Japan, which is a major trading partner of the United States, had said it would not negotiate under the Super 301 framework. Even Brazil had said it would prefer to discuss this in a multilateral forum like the ongoing Uruguay round, than on a bilateral plane.

Replying to points raised by the members that India should diversify its trade instead of depending on any single country, the minister said, "We are under no pressure from any single country."

#### **GATT Negotiator Praised**

46001593 Madras *THE HINDU* in English  
7 Aug 89 p 8

[Text] Has the Union Government identified the contours of what should be the effective strategy against the dangerous U.S. move to impose its preferences on the conduct of Indian economic policy? When the U.S. President, Mr. George Bush, named India, along with Japan and Brazil last May, as offenders under the Super 301 provision of the amended U.S. Trade and Competitiveness Act, 1988, the official Indian reaction, although somewhat belated, was one of shock and dismay. How could he think of brandishing the predominantly trade correcting mechanism of the new law against a country such as India with its minuscule trade surplus against the U.S.? The Union Commerce Minister, Mr Dinesh Singh, gave expression to the widely shared official as well as expert opinion that the U.S. was really barking up the

wrong tree. The question was not merely that of the basic incompatibility between the new U.S. Act and the postulates of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade [GATT]. The action initiated by the Bush administration under Super 301 against India (bracketing it in the process with that mighty economic power, Japan), said Mr. Dinesh Singh at that time, was "irrational, unfair and unjustified." Less than a month after the U.S. seeking the extraordinary prerogative which in effect would do away with the need to provide safeguards for the developing countries, the Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi put on record the assertion that India would not be dictated to by any super power on running its government. Similar pronouncements reinforcing the resolve of the Government not to be browbeaten by the arbitrary and unilateral U.S. move under super 301 have also been made by the Union Ministers of Finance and External Affairs. The statement made by Mr P.V. Narasimha Rao at the meeting of the Ministerial Representatives of the Group 77 countries at Caracas last month went to far as to caution the U.S. that persistence with the Super 301 offensive might cause grave harm to the Uruguay Round, a consequence which neither the U.S. nor the other industrialized countries could envisage with any degree of equanimity. A very valid point in all this is that none of the developing countries named by the U.S. has given any provocation for it to take steps to bring a whole range of policies relating to trade, investment and intellectual property, such as those being pursued by India, under a totally unacceptable course of bilateral negotiations.

It can hardly be a matter for dispute that the Union Government has effectively used its diplomatic channels to secure a wide measure of informed understanding among the 96 contracting parties of the GATT membership that the thrust of the contemplated U.S. action was such that the prospects of strengthening the GATT as a mechanism against protectionism would be severely impaired. The EEC countries, Japan, Australia, South Korea and others have evidently expressed in the forum of the GATT their principled objection to what amounts to securing trade advantages through the supplanting of the multilateral process embodied by the GATT. Whether such expressions of support for India and the other developing countries would add up to a deterrence of sufficient strength to dissuade the U.S. from a pre-emptory course of trade retaliation cannot however be forecast with any high degree of reliability. What is reassuring nevertheless is the fact that at the recent special session of the GATT Council in Geneva (June 22), the chief Indian negotiator, Mr Bal Krishan Zutshi, gave clear notice of how the Uruguay Round negotiations would become jeopardized if the U.S. were to persist with its untenable stand. While all this could rightly be viewed as the unambiguous declaration that India will not permit U.S. arm twisting on the basic right of the country to shape its own economic policies in the light of needs and priorities perceived by a democratically constituted government, what seems to be a major missing element is a plan of action in the event of the

U.S. rushing headlong into a course of trade retaliation, unmindful of the strength and wisdom of world public opinion. It is not that the situation has already got out of hand or that the Bush Administration has uncompromisingly committed itself to a policy of endangering the future course of bilateral relations. If the recent comments of the U.S. Trade Representative, Ms Carla Hills, are not to be dismissed as the product of a mollifying new approach to the threatened framework of Indo-U.S. relations, two aspects of the matter are coming to the fore. First, the U.S. action in naming India in the hit list was born out of its long term interest in taking advantage of a potential enormous market. Second, U.S. retaliation, even if the charge of "unfair trading practices" were established against India, would not be an automatic mandatory consequence but only be a discretionary option for the U.S. President, Mr Dinesh Singh might well be justified in hoping that the U.S. administration will abandon its precipitate course in compliance with the logic of a multilateral approach to trade issues and in the larger long term interests of healthy and democratic bilateral relations. However, such a belief can have some meaning only if it is supported by a contingency plan for coping with any untoward disruption of the export markets.

#### **India, GDR Sign Dual Taxation Agreement**

46001611 Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH  
in English 27 Jul 89 p 8

[Text] New Delhi, July 26 (PTI): India and German Democratic Republic (GDR) signed an agreement here today to avoid double taxation on income and capital.

Mr P.K. Appachoo, joint secretary, ministry of finance, and Mr Wolfgang Grabuowski, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of GDR to India, signed the agreement on behalf of their respective governments.

Under the agreement, business profits of an enterprise of one country shall be taxable in the other country only if it maintains a permanent establishment like a branch, office, factory, place of management in that other country, an official press release said today.

The agreement provides for mutual exemption of aircraft profits of enterprises of the two countries.

In respect of shipping profits, while freight earnings on national cargo in bilateral trade would be totally exempted in the source country, profits from the third country trade will be exempted up to 50 percent of tax otherwise leviable.

Dividends, interest, royalties and fees for technical services would be taxed in the source country at concessional rates as laid down in the agreement.

The agreement would come into force upon exchange of notes between the two countries notifying the approval or ratification of agreement.

The agreement will help in the growth of the Indian industry by encouraging flow of technology and capital in essential areas. It would also increase India's export capability.

#### **Africa Fund Panel Meeting Opens, Greeting From Gandhi**

46001604 Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA  
in English 2 Aug 89 p 15

[Text] New Delhi, August 1, (PTI). The Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, has called for sustaining the struggle against apartheid with renewed vigour and hoped that South Africa would fulfill its commitments under the U.S. plan by holding free and fair elections.

In a message to the fifth meeting of senior officials of the Africa Fund committee here, Mr Gandhi said the fund had a significant role to play in this struggle by strengthening the frontline states and liberation movements in the continent.

He also noted the efforts of the non-aligned movement to increase international pressure on South Africa beginning to have an effect on the Pretoria regime.

Inaugurating the four-day meeting, the external affairs minister, Mr P.V. Narasimha Rao, said some pledges to the fund, both in cash and kind, were yet to be fully implemented by some countries.

Mr Rao said while more than 80 percent of the pledges, which formed the bulk of the \$426 million assistance offered, have been committed, only less than 25 percent had been actually implemented.

The position in respect of cash contributions was even "bleaker," he said adding that of a total amount \$14 million pledged in cash, only one million dollars had been received by the fund directly by the recipients.

This was not a good sign considering the fact that Africa Fund had been conceived as an emergency response to an emergency situation, he added.

"Pledges alone do not make a fund successful, they need to be implemented," he added.

Describing the Africa Fund as a "most laudable" example of south-south cooperation, Mr Rao affirmed that India would continue to stand with its brethren in southern Africa as long as the perverse system of apartheid continued to blotch the face of human civilization.

Mr Rao regretted that there was no concrete evidence of the Pretoria regime heeding to the repeated demands of the international community and mass democratic movements within South Africa to take steps to dismantle apartheid in South Africa.

The minister also referred to the estimated \$90 billion damage caused by South Africa in the frontline African states between 1980-86.

Mr Rao also reviewed the recent developments in Southern Africa which appeared to be moving towards a resolution of some of the long-drawn and tormented conflicts in the region.

The meeting is being attended by representatives of 50 countries who are members of the fund and observers of several U.N. agencies.

In his message, the Zambian President, Dr Kenneth Kaunda, who is also the vice-chairman of the fund, said the expression of international solidarity has spurred the frontline states into an intensive struggle against apartheid till the attainment of victory.

The U.S. secretary-general, Mr Perez de Cuellar, said the recent developments seemed to offer better prospects for peace and stability in the southern Africa sub-region.

The Commonwealth secretary-general, Mr Shridath Ramphal underlined the need for enhancing the fund in the struggle to end apartheid.

#### **Defense Minister on Option To Produce Satellites**

46001617 Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH  
in English 18 Jul 89 p 5

[Text] New Delhi, July 17 (PTI): The defence minister, Mr K.C. Pant, has said the government had kept its options "open" for the development of military satellites for surveillance and airborne early warning systems.

"The needfull will be done in this regard at the appropriate time," Mr Pant said in an interview published in the recent issue of the defence magazine, The Chanakya Aerospace, defence and maritime review...

Noting that the Agni missile was a technology demonstrator, the minister said the success of its launch was a "shot in the arm" for the Indian scientists and instilled them with confidence for accomplishing tasks involving most complex and sophisticated technologies.

Mr Pant said the government has recognized the weakness in not being able to translate a scientific breakthrough into the production line system and, therefore, taken steps to compress the development-production-introduction cycle in the defence sector.

Early identification of production agency, entrusting manufacture of development prototypes and pre-production series had helped some of the programmes of the Defence Research and Development Organization (DRDO), he said.

#### **Defense Ministry Scored for Main Battle Tank Failure**

46001614 Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH  
in English 20 Jul 89 p 4

[Text] New Delhi, July 19 (UNI): The comptroller and auditor-general (CAG) has blamed the defence ministry

for its failure to produce main battle tank (MBT) for the Army despite 15 years of planning and wastage of more than Rs 118 crores.

In its report on the design and development of the MBT, named Arjun, the CAG said the project was conceived in 1974 at a cost Rs 15.50 crores. The cost was revised in 1987 to Rs 280.80 crores but a "fully integrated prototype has not yet been given to the users for their evaluation."

The report says, "Such a long and interminable delay in indigenization can seriously affect the defence preparedness."

The CAG made a very critical review of the functioning of the Defence Research and Development Organization (DRDO) which was entrusted with the MBT project. The report said the DRDO did not adhere to any timeframe. Till August 1988, 11 prototypes had been built with imported engines and transmission and with imported or indigenous sub-systems and components.

It said a major factor contributing to the delay in the development of the MBT was over-estimation of the DRDO's competence to develop a tank on a totally indigenous design.

After 14 years of research work with an expenditure of Rs 118.22 crores upto March 1988, "a complete redesign of the engine has been thought of." The revised foreign exchange component, which was Rs 2.32 crores in the original estimates, now stands at Rs 102.32 crores.

Due to various delays, bulk production of tanks, scheduled to commence from 1984, is now expected to commence only from 1991 and that too with imported engines and transmission units.

Major systems like the engine, transmission, gun control, fire control and sighting were stated to be still under development and involved a number of Indian and foreign agencies. "Even after production, dependence on import of foreign components or sub-systems involving foreign exchange would be significant," the report says.

Though the monitoring of the project by three committees was envisaged, meetings were not held regularly and the monitoring was not comprehensive.

#### **Opposition Charges Baseless, Says Bhagat**

New Delhi, July 19: Mr H.K.L. Bhagat, Union minister for parliamentary affairs, information and broadcasting, said here today that it was "most unfortunate and distressing that the Opposition in the both the Houses of Parliament adopted a patently unconstitutional method to obstruct the proceedings."

In a statement he said it had been made clear that the government was ready for a discussion on the Comptroller and Auditor General's report on the Bofors deal. "The government has nothing to hide and has always been prepared for discussion on all issues."

Mr Bhagat said it was absolutely clear that all that the Opposition was interested in was making baseless allegations and misleading the people. Whenever the Opposition had been asked to substantiate its charges in the House, it had been unable to do so, and had "in some cases even run away from the Hose."

The obstructions created by the Opposition in Parliament today showed that it was interested in publicity and gimmicks rather than in a debate on issues its own leaders had raised. "It is also obvious that the opposition is worried that the debate in Parliament will expose their own contradictions and misdeeds. The intellectual and moral bankruptcy of the Opposition is self-evident."

Ms Mamata Banerjee and Mr Shantaram Naik (both Congress-I) alleged that it was Mr V.P. Singh who had okayed the Bofors deal as finance minister.

### Satellite Launch Vehicle Rocket Engine Tested

*New Delhi PATRIOT in English 14 Jul 89 p 5*

[Text] Nagercoil, July 13 (PTI)—The 'battleship version' of the fourth stage rocket engine of the polar satellite launch vehicle (PSLV) was successfully 'static' tested for a duration of 60 secs at the test stand facilities at the Liquid Propulsion System Center (LPSC) at Mahendragiri, 20 km from here in Tamilnadu's Kanyakumari district yesterday.

The Vikas engine, to be used in the PSLV and developed at the LPSC, are the type of engines used in battleship and are therefore called "the battleship version".

The test marks a major milestone in the PSLV's development and is a prelude to the flight version testing which will follow soon, it was stated.

If powered by two regenerated cooled engines using Mono Methyl Hydrazine (MMH) and Mixed Oxides of Nitrogen (MON-3) the fourth stage rocket engine could develop a thrust of 720 kgs and would be ignited at an altitude of 300 kms.

### Changes in Launch Vehicle Hardware, Software Viewed

*46001594 Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 3 Aug 89 p 8*

[Article by V.R. Mani]

[Text] Trivandrum, Aug. 2. The Indian Space Research Organization [ISRO] has decided to effect some changes in both hardware and software of the Augmented Satellite Launch Vehicle (ASLV).

The changes, not of a major nature, were discussed and reviewed at a meeting attended by the chairman of the ISRO, Mr U.R. Rao, experts of the review panel which went into the failure of the ASLV-D2 and experts at the Vikram Sarabhai Space Center here recently, highly-placed sources said.

The ASLV-D2 had met with failure on July 13, last year, mainly because of "inadequacy of control forces during the transition period between the strap-on (zero stage) burn-out and the first stage (roughly) between T-45 seconds and T-50 seconds—T zero being the time of ignition of the strap-on motors) because of excessive aerodynamic loads and wind loads," the sources said.

Because of this, the vehicle lost control and broke into three pieces at an altitude of about 12 kms, the sources added.

Two committees—the fault analysts committee [FAC] and the expert review panel [ERP]—had gone into the cause of the failure. Their focus was mainly to analyze in detail the control system design and to recommend effective measures to increase the margins in the control force availability and also to reduce the aerodynamic loads on the vehicle.

The meeting decided to alter the "thrust versus time" profile of the strap-on solid propulsion system so as to reduce the maximum dynamic pressure experienced by the vehicle during the atmospheric flight, the sources revealed.

It also decided to incorporate the necessary changes in the auto-pilot design to increase the margins in the control system of the vehicle, especially during the strap-on and first stage flight durations.

Another change decided, according to the sources, was to base the timing of events such as strap-on separation and first-stage ignition on the sensing of vehicle acceleration and the chamber pressure of solid motors rather than pre-fix timings followed in the earlier ASLV flights.

The inter-stages will also be reinforced so as to take on more aerodynamic loads and wind loads.

The meeting, however, did not contemplate any major changes in the heat shield of the vehicle, as both FAC and ERP were convinced that there was no problem of aerodynamic buffeting in ASLV flights, the sources said.

A professor from Madhya Pradesh who had expressed his apprehensions on the variation of acceleration due to gravity at Shar Site was also interviewed by the ERP, the sources said. It came to the conclusion that the theory was not scientifically based.

The sources said that the FAC had contributed to the in-depth study on the critical phenomena of launch vehicles which occur during the booster flight. The problems and solution of this critical phenomena are classified information and, therefore, are not available from other countries, the sources added. They said that ISRO was confident of incorporating the changes now decided in about six months and thoroughly test ASLV's subsistence, especially the control and guidance systems.

The next ASLV flight is expected to be launched by the last quarter of 1990. Meanwhile, the changes on ASLV are unlikely to have any impact on the PSLV (Polar

Satellite Launch Vehicle) which is said to be making substantial progress and is likely to be launched by next year-end or early 1991.

In fact, some of the technologies—strap-on, closed loop guidance and inertial navigation, S-band telemetry and so on—have already been validated by the first two ASLV flights, the sources said.

### **Natwar Singh Speaks at Conference on Cambodia**

36001606 Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA*  
in English 1 Aug 89 p 13

[Text] Paris, July 31 (PTI). India told rival Cambodian factions to display the necessary spirit of flexibility and constructive compromise and come to an understanding among themselves for a peaceful settlement of the Cambodian problem.

Addressing the international peace conference on Cambodia here the minister of state for external affairs, Mr Natwar Singh, fully supported the position taken by many of the 20 participating nations that a comprehensive solution would be the best way to ensure stable peace.

He, however, made it clear that a political solution cannot be imposed from outside, because ultimately the Cambodian people must decide for themselves.

The Cambodian parties, therefore, must come to a compromise so that the international conference can recognize and guarantee the agreements arrived at among them, Mr Natwar Singh said.

"Since it is the Cambodian people that will ultimately have to decide their future, it is imperative that fair and free elections are held under international supervision within a reasonable period of time, so that the will of the Cambodian people prevails".

Their verdict must be accepted if Cambodia is to leave behind this winter of discontent to go forward to a new dawn, Mr Natwar Singh said.

He reminded the conference of the role which India played since 1954 as chairman of the international commission for supervision and control in Cambodia and said in spite of the many problems which the commission faced, India learnt much from this experience.

"Just as we have learnt from our participation in other peace keeping operations in Korea, Congo, Gaza, Cyprus and Namibia", he said.

Mr Natwar Singh strongly supported the call for an international control mechanism to undertake well-defined responsibilities for implementing an agreed solution to the Cambodian question.

Equally important would be the functioning of supervising the cessation of the inflow of military assistance to the Cambodian factions, the non-return of the genocidal

practices of the Pol Pot regime and the supervision of the general elections, Mr Natwar Singh said.

The minister of state for external affairs referred to the general agreement that Cambodia should be a sovereign, independent, neutral and non-aligned country, at peace with itself and its neighbors, and said this clearly means that foreign military bases forces will not be present in it.

### **India's Foreign Debt Estimated at \$60 Billion**

46001598 New Delhi *PATRIOT* in English 5 Aug 89 p 9

[Text] Jaipur, August 4—The public and private external debt of India is to the tune of around \$60 billion which includes debt repayable in rupees to the East European countries and the USSR and also the amount payable to the International Monetary Fund (IMF). This, however, does not include the debt on account of defence and defence related borrowings.

This was estimated by a group of distinguished economists including representatives of the Reserve Bank of India (RBI), Industrial Development Bank of India (IDBI), Planning Commission and other academic institutions while discussing "India's foreign indebtedness and its implications for development" in a seminar organised by the Institute of Development Studies (IDS) of Jaipur which concluded here this evening.

The seminar inaugurated by Prof Sukhmoy Chakravarty, Chairman Economic Advisory Council to the Prime Minister, was attended by among others Prof Ajit Mazoomdar and Prof Chandan Wadhwa—both of the Centre for Policy Research in Delhi; Dr V.G. Bhatia, Advisor Planning Commission; Dr P.B. Kulkarni, Chief Foreign Operations Division of the RBI and Prof V.S. Vyas, Director IDS.

The participants pointed out that the NRI deposits of about Rs10,000 crore were an additional liability although whether or not this was considered as debt was a matter of definition.

Such a large debt had to be related to deficits in Balance of Payments in general and current account deficits in particular. It was agreed that the large and unsustainable current account deficits had a close connection with the domestic fiscal imbalances. Therefore, reduction in domestic deficits was stressed in order to reverse the trend.

With regard to direct measures for improving the Balance of Payments position it was accepted that a ten per cent rate of growth of exports as projected in the Eighth Plan, and also achieved in the past two to three years would need to be not only maintained but increased further. The need to maintain the present policies of making exports-price competitive, simultaneously would have to be paid to non-price factors such as quality of exports and marketing. It was suggested that promotion in both export thrusts and incentives rather than across the board measures.



New goods and services particularly which are skilled or intensive should be identified for export promotion.

An assessment of the opportunities and constraints in the external environment was also considered essential. In this reference, special mention was made of the changing relationships between India's major and potentially major trading partners. It was stressed that new niches for export must be found in such realignments.

Priorities between different types of capital inflows over the next few years were also considered at length. The consensus that seemed to emerge was that irrespective of the source of borrowing an increase in the maturity period was far more desirable. Short-term borrowings were considered necessary in view of the liquidity problem facing the country.

### **CPI-M Politburo Member Scores Soviet Stance**

46001599 Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA*  
in English 5 Aug 89 p 11

[Text] Calcutta, August 4—The veteran CPM [Marxist Communist Party] politburo member, Mr B.T. Ranadive, criticised the Soviet authorities for violating socialist norms while bringing in political and economic reforms to correct distortions in the system.

He also criticised the Chinese students' cry for democracy, which, he felt, was counter-revolutionary and, if allowed, would have taken China back to the capitalist path.

Mr Ranadive said this yesterday while speaking on "Recent developments in the socialist countries" organised here on the occasion of the birth centenary of Muzaffar Ahmed.

Admitting that there had been deviations from the Marxist-Leninist principles in the Soviet Union even when Stalin was alive, he felt the reforms to correct the distortions must ensure strengthening of the socialist system. There could be no reform to spread of socialist consciousness among the people.

Unfortunately, however, the plethora of literature and reports they were receiving from the Soviet Union on the reforms, though not from official sources, was causing anxiety as these indicated that socialist consciousness was lagging behind.

He pointed out that like glasnost, Mao had once said, "Let a hundred flowers bloom." This led to anti-party ideas within the party. He, therefore, wanted Soviet authorities to let the party assert its leading role by inculcating socialist consciousness among the people.

He said the talk of individual liberty and freedom of speech was alright. But he wondered if individual freedom be extended to chant "Hare Krishna Hare

Ram" in the Soviet Union. Too much stress on individual initiative might spell the danger of resurgence of bourgeois liberalism subordinating the role of the party in the people's eye.

Which, he felt, would be a second deviation to correct the present distortions. One of the basic conditions of socialism was that the party's prestige must be held high by making it the vanguard of the proletariat.

### **CPI-M Supports Regional Autonomy for Jharkhandis**

46001602 Calcutta *THE TELEGRAPH*  
in English 4 Aug 89 p 4

[Text] Calcutta, Aug. 3: The CPI-M [Communist Party of India-Marxist] has decided to support the demand for regional autonomy for the Jharkhandis in the tribal dominated areas of Bihar. The party will, however, continue to oppose the Jharkhandis' demand for a separate state.

Mr Prakash Karat, member of the CPI-M central secretariat, said that his party leaders held a discussion on the Jharkhand issue recently and decided to support the demand for regional autonomy for the tribals in the state, particularly in south Bihar.

Mr Karat was participating in a seminar on the "Nationality problem of India" at the Mahajati Sadan. The seminar was organized by the state unit of the party as part of its year-long programme to celebrate the birth centenary of the party's founder, Muzaffar Ahmed.

Mr Karat pointed out that the CPI-M would continue to oppose the Jharkhandis' demand for a separate state as it felt such demands would break the unity among the tribals and non-tribals in Bihar. He said the party had decided to support the demand for regional autonomy as it would help protect the cultural and linguistic identity of the tribals in Bihar. No such decision had been taken regarding the tribals in West Bengal.

The CPI-M leader explained the need for differentiating between the adivasis in the two states by saying that the tribals in Bihar were subjected to the most crude exploitation and the state government had also failed to give them any protection. Moreover, he said the working class movement in the state had also failed to draw the tribals into the mainstream of the democratic process.

He said in West Bengal the tribals were more conscious and the majority of them had become "part and parcel" of the democratic movements launched by the working class.

Mr Karat pointed out that the "intelligentsia" among the tribals were today conscious of the attacks on their identity but had failed to see them on the basis of class exploitation. This trend often led them to veer towards separatist demands which weakened the working class movement.

Mr Karat came down heavily on the Congress(I) at the Center for its "authoritarian attempts to centralize power by encroaching on the existing power of the state governments. He criticized the Center for compromising with divisive and separatist forces in different parts of the country for petty political gains.

He said, "Mr Rajiv Gandhi was breeding disintegration in the country in the name of strengthening national integration and encouraging disunity in the name of national unity." He alleged that the imperialist forces were taking advantage of the failure of the Congress(I) government at the Center to protect the identity of the tribals and other minorities.

He urged the Left and democratic forces to champion the aspirations of all the minorities on one hand and resist the attempt of the Center to drive a wedge in the movement of the working class.

Mr Achintya Bhattacharya, a central committee member of the CPI-M, also spoke at the seminar. Mr Abdullah Rasool and Mr Saroj Mukherjee were among the other party leaders who were present.

### BJP National Council Holds Emergency Session

46001613 Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA  
in English 24 Jul 89 p 24

[Text] New Delhi, July 23 (PTI). The Bharatiya Janata party [BJP] today carried out the mandatory amendment to the party constitution required to register itself with the election commission.

The amendment incorporates, the following statement in the first page of the BJP constitution: "The party shall bear true faith and allegiance to the constitution of India as by law established and to the principles of socialism, secularism, and democracy, and will uphold the sovereignty, unity and integrity of India".

The amendment was made at the emergency session of its national council today to fulfill the "technical obligation" imposed on the party following the amendment to the Representation of People Act.

In his opening remarks at the council, the party president, Mr L.K. Advani, said the requirement of law had already been met in substance as article four of the party constitution says: "The party shall be committed to nationalism and national integration democracy, Gandhian socialism, positive secularism and value-based politics."

But what was done at this session was to incorporate the provision in the precise form required by the law.

At the same time, he said he would like to place on record that the new amendment was "neither necessary nor meaningful as it "militates" against the democratic content of the Indian constitution.

"The party national council viewed with dismay the "unsavory revelations" of the CAG report on Bofors and said the "rot" that had "spread" from the prime Minister's office could not be stemmed unless Mr Rajiv Gandhi was thrown out or resigns."

"Mr Gandhi must resign. It is in their own interest that they go before they are tossed out," a resolution adopted at the council said.

It observed that "those at the very center of the entire scandal, go on defying Parliament, defying public morality and now defying the CAG."

UNI adds: Mr Advani said that the Bofors gun issue might prove for the Prime Minister what Watergate scandal became for President Nixon of the United States—"a harbinger of political doom."

Mr Advani was referring to the three principal ingredients of the pre-election scenario while addressing the emergency session of the national council here.

About the Congress party, Mr Advani said there was "complete disillusionment" with the party and its leader Mr Gandhi.

Mr Gandhi has miserably failed "to fulfill his election promises to solve the Punjab problem and give the country a clean government."

Indeed, when the Punjab governor, Mr S.S. Ray, said the other day that a solution to the Punjab problem could be found "only after the elections," he (Ray) had "unwittingly blurted out the truth." The people of Punjab also are "convinced" that so long as Mr Gandhi was there, there was going to be no end to their agony, Mr Advani said.

Referring to the CAG report on the Bofors gun deal, he said corruption in high places was back in the limelight.

The Rajiv government had been "patting itself on the back" that it had succeeded in "sweeping Bofors, fairfax, HDW and westland issues beneath the carpet."

Mr Advani regretted that the Janata Dal had failed to "inspire hope and confidence for the future."

The Dal, he pointed out was not functioning like a "single outfit but like a condominium of diverse factions come together in an ad hoc manner. No one can say for certain how long this conglomeration would go together. To make matters worse, some leaders of the party seem to be vying with the Congress and the communists as to who can pander more to the cult of minorityism. "It is this weakness of the party that explains its ambivalence vis-a-vis the BJP," he maintained.

The BJP chief said that the Dal leaders do not seem to realize that by their equivocation on the question of relations with the BJP, they were only hurting themselves.

### **Sikh Students' President Manjit Singh Released**

46001607 Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH  
in English 30 Jul 89 p 1

[Text] Amritsar, July 29 (PTI): The All-India Sikh Students' Federation [AISSF] president, Mr Manjit Singh, was today released from Sangrur Jail after certain cases against him were withdrawn, reports received at the Federation headquarters here said.

Mr Manjit Singh, who was arrested in the wake of Operation Bluestar in 1984, went to Gurdwara Nankana Sahib soon after his release.

Reports said a few other Federation leaders were also released along with him.

Mr Manjit Singh was chosen AISSF president while in jail in place of his brother, Mr Amrik Singh, who was killed in Operation Bluestar.

### **GNLF Leader Says Nepal Spies Active in Hills**

46001600 Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH  
in English 5 Aug 89 p 5

[Text] Darjeeling, Aug. 4—The GNLF [Gurkha National Liberation Front] president, Mr Subhas Ghising, said here yesterday that "spies" from Nepal have stepped up their activities in this hill district.

"Some of these spies had even come to Darjeeling," he said while referring to the rise of the Gorkha Liberation Organisation (GLO), headed by the erstwhile GNLF assistant secretary-general, Mr Chhatray Subba.

He said the Pranta Parishad, which spearheaded the movement for a separate state earlier, "is in league with the zonal commissioner of eastern Nepal's Mechi zone."

Since last week, Mr Ghising has been accusing the Pranta Parishad of helping the GLO. According to Mr Ghising, the GLO had acquired sophisticated arms, including AK-47s. He also said Nepal had opened up underground trailing camps for extremists.

Earlier, he had charged the GLO president, with running camps in Nepal, especially at Pashupatinagar. However, Mr Subba denied the allegation.

In recent times, suspicion and fear have gradually begun to replace the age-old ethnic and traditional bonds between the Nepali-speaking people in Nepal and Darjeeling. Most Nepali journals hold Mr Ghising and the Sikkim chief minister, Mr Nar Bahadur Bhandari, responsible for the separatist movement in the eastern Nepali hills bordering Sikkim and Darjeeling. The movement is led by the Limbuwan Mukti Morcha. These journals have described the leader of the morcha, Mr Bir Nembang, as a "resident of Darjeeling."

The morcha is seeking autonomy for Limbus, a martial race living in Ilam, Panthar, Taplejung and other areas of Nepal. Apart from this, some Kathmandu-based

weeklies have demanded expulsion of people from Darjeeling working in Nepal in retaliation for Mr Ghising's current anti-Nepal stand.

There has been a clear division of opinion among the Nepali-speaking people as well as political parties here on the current stalemate between India and Nepal. While Mr Ghising has been staunchly supporting India, the CPI(M) [Communist Party of India-Marxist] leader, Mr Ananda Pathak, feels that India should adopt a favourable policy towards the landlocked nation.

The all-India Gorkha League (Dimmal faction) has, on the other hand, blamed Nepal for the stalemate.

But Nepali magazines have lauded Mr Chhatray Subba for his "support" to Nepal on bilateral issues. Besides this, they have mentioned his struggle for Gorkhaland and constitutional recognition for the Nepali language in India.

This is again contrary to Mr Ghising's unilateral decision to change the nomenclature of the language to "Gorkha." According to Mr Ghising, the use of Gorkha will terminate all kinds of links with Nepal.

As the GLO's deadline for the release of its members arrested on Sunday draws nearer, there are reports about the appearance of anti-Ghising posters at Mirrik, Soureni, and Sukhiapokhri, all close to international border.

The posters are believed to have been put up by the GLO. Similar posters also appeared in Darjeeling town sometime ago.

### **Industrial Production Exceeds 7-Year Plan Target**

46001618 Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH  
in English 17 Jul 89 p 8

[Text] New Delhi, July 16 (UNI): The increase in industrial production exceeds what was visualized for the first four years of the Seventh Plan.

The Plan aims at an overall average growth rate of more than eight percent in the industrial sector, selected segments of it having been projected to grow at a much higher rate.

According to the index for industrial production, compiled by the Central Statistical Organization (CSO), the overall average rate of industrial growth was 8.5 percent during the first four years of the Plan.

In the manufacturing and electricity sectors, it was nine percent each, while in the mining and quarrying sector it was 5.5 percent, showing an average growth rate of 8.5 percent for the first four years.

A number of industries have shown a noticeable increase in output during the Seventh Plan. These include sugar, paper and paper board, cotton yarn, coal, nitrogenous fertilizers, phosphatic fertilizers, cement, saleable steel,

electricity generation, petroleum refinery products, commercial vehicles, railway wagons, electric motors, penicillin and streptomycin.

The infrastructure industries have also performed well, the composite growth of six infrastructure industries—electricity, coal, saleable steel, crude oil, petroleum refinery products and cement—together accounting for a weight of 28.8 percent, recorded an average increase of 7.5 percent in the first four years of the Seventh Plan.

The growth rate of the infrastructure industries was 8.2 percent in 1985, 7.5 percent in 1986, six percent in 1987 and 8.1 percent in 1988, leading to an average of 7.5 percent.

### **Illegal Migrants Reported 'Roaming Free' in Assam**

46001605 Calcutta *THE TELEGRAPH*  
in English 1 Aug 89 p 4

[Article by Wasbir Hussain]

[Text] Guwahati, July 31: Four years after the anti-foreigner movement, illegal migrants are still roaming free in Assam, thanks to the intricate legal process associated with their detection.

So far, only about 900 illegal migrants have been expelled from Assam after the accord was signed, a paltry figure considering the estimated number of Bangladeshis in the state. These persons were expelled after the tribunals set up under the Illegal Migrants (Determination by Tribunals) Act, 1983 declared them to have illegally migrated to Assam after March 24, 1971.

The Assam government maintains that the Illegal Migrants Act has got too many loopholes for the smooth detection and expulsion of the post-1971 stream of foreign nationals from the state. The Assam minister for accord implementation, Mr Zoi Nath Sharma, told *THE TELEGRAPH* that the state government had recommended scrapping of this Act "quite sometime ago" and replacing it with a uniform law that is applicable in the rest of the country to effectively deal with the aliens. "there has been no response at all from the Center to our recommendations and if New Delhi continues to be silent, we will have to decide on some course of action," Mr Sharma said.

According to the Provisions in the Illegal Migrants Act (as amended last year), a citizen can lodge a complaint against a suspected foreigner living in the same police station area by paying a fee of Rs 10. Prior to the amendment of the Act last year, a complainant was required to reside within a 3 km radius from where the suspected foreigner lived and the fee required to be paid was Rs 25. The amendment was brought about due to pressure from the AGP [Assam People's Council] government. But the response of the people has been extremely poor.

Soon after Mr Sharma became minister for accord implementation in October last year, he got "complaint boxes" put up at the offices of the deputy commissioners and the sub-divisional officers (civil) throughout the state. Today, nine months later, Mr Sharma said only five complaints had been received so far. he said: "The people think that only the state government is responsible for the detection of aliens. We want that they should pinpoint the suspected aliens and thereby assist the authorities."

Mr Sharma revealed that about 80 percent of the cases lost in the tribunals were due to the lack of witnesses to give evidence against a suspected illegal migrant. He said: "The court issues orders that such and such case has been dismissed for want of a witness. This order ultimately becomes a very valid document for the illegal migrants, more prized than even citizenship certificates." A total of about 6,000 cases against suspected aliens (3,201 under the Illegal Migrants Act and 3,107 under the Foreigners Act) have been rejected by the tribunals so far.

Till July 10, a total of 1.92 lakh cases have been investigated under the Illegal Migrants Act. The number under the Foreigners Act is 4.13 lakhs. Out of 21,759 cases referred to the tribunals set up under the Illegal Migrants Act, 4,171 have been declared foreigners. The tribunals under the Foreigners Act, which examined 25,713 cases, have declared 11,431 persons as aliens. These persons would now be served with a notice to quit India within 30 days. But most of the time these notices cannot be served as the persons concerned move to different areas.

Besides, the entire process relating to the expulsion of illegal Bangladeshi migrants is a farce. The Bangladesh government maintains that none of its citizens have illegally migrated to India.

### **Analyst Writes on India's Problems in Intelligence**

46001610 Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA*  
in English 28 Jul 89 p 10

[Article by K. Subrahmanyam]

[Text] Intelligence is a vital requirement for safeguarding national security. There was a nation-wide outcry in 1962 that a lack of intelligence had led to a military debacle. Initially, there were allegations in 1965 about the inadequacy of information about Pakistan's second armored division and the viaducts constructed under the irrigation canals. Subsequently it turned out that there were no such failures in intelligence collection or reporting but only shortcomings in the system of assessment and dissemination.

All this happened two decades ago. One would presume that, in the light of these experiences, our system of intelligence collection, compilation, assessment and its use as a basis for policy formulation would have

improved over the last two decades. Indeed, some steps have been taken. External intelligence collection was separated from counter-intelligence and internal security operations. The Research and Analysis Wing (RAW) handles the former and the Intelligence Bureau the latter.

#### Joint Committee

In the light of the finding that the shortcoming in 1962 was in assessment of available data, a high-powered joint intelligence committee was created under the chairmanship of an additional secretary in the Cabinet secretariat. The set-up was further upgraded in 1985; a full-time secretary to the government became the chairman and the secretariat was strengthened.

One would think that with these steps the support of intelligence to our national security preparedness and operations would have been significantly strengthened. While there will always be room for further improvement, it would be reasonable to expect that things are now different in respect of intelligence assessment and its relationship with the policy-makers today. But given the very nature of the job, achievements in intelligence do not get publicized or receive public recognition. There are, however, a few signs which give cause for worry to those familiar with the intelligence field.

The most worrisome problem for India today is the situation in Sri Lanka. It is not the intention here to go into the merits of various decisions taken and the follow-up actions. But a knowledgeable observer has to ask whether there was a detailed assessment of the composition of different Tamil resistance groups, or why there were so many groups instead of a single united front, which the Tamil United Liberation Front was meant to be. In India we rightly raised the question why the seven insurgent groups in Peshawar did not come together, and came up with the right answer that these were individual tribal insurgencies and not a national liberation war as the Americans and Pakistanis portrayed it to be.

From the way the alignments have been shifting in Sri Lanka, it does not look as though there was an in-depth assessment on the sociological composition of different groups and their motivations and inter-relationships before our armed forces were committed to peace-keeping operations. It is legitimate also to ask whether the leadership of our armed forces sought answers to such questions.

Another issue on which a lack of in-depth assessment is visible to the informed public is that of Pakistan's nuclear capability. Some of those in authority still maintain that Pakistan has not yet made a complete weapon. It is quite possible this is the advice they receive from just one intelligence agency instead of a detailed assessment by a group of knowledgeable people from different concerned organizations. (Unfortunately, however, the number of such people are very few).

In offering a single-channel advice there is always a temptation for the intelligence organization to report what would please, be acceptable and politically convenient to those to whom it has to report. There are enough foreign intelligence agencies only too ready and willing to persuade India that Pakistan has not made a nuclear weapon.

#### Implosion Tests

Knowledgeable people assessing the situation would have known that until a day before the atom bomb was dropped on Hiroshima, the U.S. did not, technically speaking, have a nuclear weapon. The scientist, Luis Alvarez, flew to Tinian island in the Pacific and armed the weapon on the night of August 5-6, 1945, just before it was loaded into the bomb bay of the aircraft Enola Gay.

The Pakistanis have been working on the bomb for 17 years. They started enriching uranium from 1981. A surreptitious acquisition of krytrons, a triggering device, was made in 1984. Implosion tests were conducted in 1985 without the fissile materials. Are we to assume that they have been sitting on their hands since then? What is the evidence to come to the conclusion against all probability that they have not made the weapon? It is possible that they have not armed the bomb just as the U.S. bomb was not until it was to be used.

Intelligence assessment is a process in which people from different organizations, all knowledgeable on the subject, weigh the evidence. One can never get absolutely reliable information unless a signal transmitted on the electromagnetic spectrum is intercepted, and the code broken, or a secure telephone line is tapped. Conclusions have to be drawn on the basis of the balance of probability. The basic problem we have in this country today is not different in this sense from the one we had in 1962.

The joint intelligence committee [JIC], though upgraded, is hampered because of a number of factors. The chiefs of intelligence agencies have direct access to the Prime Minister while the chairman, JIC, has to go through the Cabinet secretary. Secondly, the JIC's assessment will be as good as the inputs from the intelligence collection agencies. The temptation for the agencies is to take direct to the Prime Minister important items of information and supply them to the JIC subsequently, sometimes on a selective basis. Thirdly, an assessment requires debate among people who are more or less equally knowledgeable.

#### Primary Responsibility

In the U.S. while the primary and overall responsibility for intelligence collection and assessment lies with the director, CIA [Central Intelligence Agency], the defence intelligence agency and the state department have their expert staff who can contest the CIA's findings relying on their knowledge and expertise. In India this does not happen. The defence intelligence agencies and the ministries of defence and external affairs have very little to



contribute by way of expertise or background information to any assessment. Fourthly, various agencies in their vested interest tend to run down information available in open literature, and place excessive emphasis on what is said to have been obtained through secret intelligence sources. Allen Dulles, the former CIA director, wrote in his book *The Craft of Intelligence* that 90 percent of intelligence needed is available in open sources.

Because of these reasons, adequate appreciation is lacking at the political and senior bureaucratic levels about the need for intelligence assessments as against intelligence reporting. In these circumstances, it is not surprising that the need for forward looking, long-term assessments which should form the basis for foreign and defence policies planning is even less appreciated.

### Papers Report MP's Letter Criticizing Gandhi

#### Summary of Letter

46001603 Calcutta *THE TELEGRAPH*  
in English 3 Aug 89 p 4

[Text] New Delhi, Aug 2: Mr. H.N. Nanjgowda, Congress(I) Lok Sabha member from Karnataka, today demanded reopening of the Indira Gandhi assassination case and "honest" disclosure of names of the recipients of kickbacks in the Bofors deal.

In a strongly-worded five-page letter written to the Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, which was simultaneously released to the press, Mr Nanjgowda said the party must take a fresh look at both these issues in order to regain a "semblance of credibility." His letter, without directly mentioning Mr R.K. Dhawan's name, questioned his "acquittal" after indictment by the Thakkar Commission.

"The deliberate casualness and shamefully evasive tactics exhibited on the two principal issues have now reached stage where we have lost all credibility... Let us take a fresh look at both these issues and let us make an honest effort to find out who got the Bofors commissions."

Making clear that his letter, 48 hours after the former Union agriculture minister, Rao Birendra Singh's resignation from the Congress(I) and the Lok Sabha, was a coordinated act, the "rebel" from Karnataka warned Mr Gandhi: "Let it not be said, Mr Prime Minister, that in the centenary year of Jawaharlal Nehru, his grandson presided over the liquidation of his beloved Congress party."

Mr Nanjgowda began his letter saying that two specters were haunting the Congress(I)—Mrs Gandhi's assassination and the Howitzer deal. "On both these issues, our party and the government have been adopting tactics which make our Opposition laugh, our party sad and our countrymen angry."

Saying that he had not yet lost all hope, Mr Nanjgowda urged Mr Gandhi to be bold enough to "get out of the spell of the rootless wonders who are presumptuous enough to (advise) the Prime Minister of India, but who cannot hope to get elected to even the Upper House from their states." This is an apparent dig at Mr P. Shiv Shankar, a senior Cabinet colleague of Mr Gandhi who was elected to the Rajya Sabha from Gujarat after losing the Lok Sabha election from Andhra—his home state.

Mr Nanjgowda said the "naked and shameful efforts to belittle the institution of the comptroller and auditor-general [CAG] could be the worst thing to happen in the centenary year of Pandit Nehru." It was Panditji who in 1952 defended on the floor of the Lok Sabha the independence of the CAG and what you allow your followers to do is some tribute to his hallowed memory.

"I have been in the last five years a sad and silent witness to how Parliament, the judiciary and other institutions that are the bedrock of our democracy have been brought to ridicule. The Election Commission and the CAG are the two other institutions that have now been added to the hit list. For the sake of temporary and illusory gains, Mr Prime Minister, let us not destroy these institutions.

"If Supreme Court judges and CAG have no value of respect in our system, I fear, we are slowly slipping away from our democratic traditions. Already, I see bureaucrats taking over political duties in our party and your personal staff taking over the bureaucracy."

Mr Nanjgowda, who represents the Hassan constituency, said he had written this letter to Mr Gandhi as his conscience had been "pricking" him for the past five years to know the truth "behind the assassination of our great leader and revered mother Indiraji."

He said: "It does not satisfy the intelligence of an Indian if a blanket claim is made—I have not shielded any of the assassins. Guilt or otherwise is not determined by successors or followers, nor even by the police which prosecutes. In a country where rule of law is established, there are courts to determine this.

"The single largest blot on our party and the government in the last five years is the lack of direction and purpose in unearthing the conspiracy which led to the assassination of the late Prime Minister at her residence by her bodyguards. It is a shame that the Congress and the government have to live down and it is shame that the people of India will not forget." He expressed surprise that Mr Gandhi had not even acknowledged three letters he had written earlier.

Giving a clear indication that he might quit the party, Mr Nanjgowda said, "I find it better to be in a party launched by thieves and comprising Harischandras, rather than be in a party launched by Harischandras and populated by thieves."

### Further Details, MP Expelled

46001603 Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA*  
in English 3 Aug 89 pp 1, 22

[Text] New Delhi, Aug 2. Mr H.N. Nanje Gowda, dissident Congress MP [Member of Parliament] from Karnataka, was tonight expelled from the party for six years for anti-party activities.

Mr Ghulam Nabi Azad, AICC [All India Congress Committee] general secretary, announced the decision of the Congress president, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, following Mr Gowda's strongly-worded letter to the Prime Minister, in which he accused the government of failing on the twin issues of tracking down the assassins of Mrs Indira Gandhi and the recipients of the kickbacks from the Bofors gun deal. Mr Gowda said he was writing the letter from the compulsions of his conscience.

Mr Gowda had in his letter urged Mr Gandhi to order a re-investigation "in order to gain a semblance of credibility".

Mr Gowda's five-page letter to the Prime Minister did not mention that he was leaving the Congress or resigning his Lok Sabha Seat. The closest he comes on this issue is where he says, "I find it better to be in a party launched by thieves and comprising Harishchandras, rather than be in a party launched by Harishchandra and populated by thieves."

Expressing concern over what he said was the devaluation of supreme court judges and disrespect to the comptroller and auditor-general (CAG), Mr Gowda said: "Already, I see bureaucrat 'king' over the political duties in our party and your personal staff taking over the bureaucracy".

Stating that he had not yet lost all hope on the twin issues raised by him, he says: "It is not yet too late for you to take a bold step to get out of the spell of the rootless wonders who are presumptuous enough to advice the Prime Minister of India, but who cannot hope to get elected even to the upper house from their states".

"Let it not be said, Mr Prime Minister, that in the centenary year of Jawaharlal Nehru, his grandson presided over the liquidation of his beloved Congress party," he added.

Mr Gowda left by the afternoon flight to Bangalore where he was scheduled to address a press conference.

"The deliberate casualness and shamefully evasive tactics exhibited on two principal issues—the assassination of Mrs Gandhi and the question of kickbacks in the Bofors deal—have now reached a stage where we have lost all credibility," the dissident member wrote.

"As an Indian first and a Congressman second", Mr Gowda demanded that the country be told "what the government knows about the assassination of our beloved leader Mrs Gandhi.

He said "The single largest blot" on the Congress and the government in the last five years was "the lack of direction and purpose" in unearthing the conspiracy which led to the assassination of Mrs Gandhi. This issue had been "prickling" the conscience of every Indian, Mr Gowda claimed.

"It is a shame that the Congress and the government have to live down and it is a shame that the people of India will not forget," he added.

He reminded the Prime Minister that he had written to him on this subject "at least thrice on earlier occasions", pointing out "specific holes" in the theory put forward by the police. Mr Gowda said there had been no response to these, nor even an acknowledgement.

The Karnataka MP said the "reluctance" to trace the real culprits in the assassination case was matched only by "the diligent cover-up of the real recipients in the Bofors deal".

"The theory that two old ladies in a tax have received \$64 million for the guns sold by Sweden to the government of India, half the globe away, to say the least, is an assault on the intelligence of the Indian people," Mr Gowda observed.

He wondered how the CBI [Central Bureau of Investigation] had not been able to find a "single piece of evidence" in the Bofors deal in the last two years when "smaller fry like journalists are coming out with more and more embarrassing documents with periodic regularity."

Mr Gowda referred to the "naked and shameful efforts" to "belittle" the institution of the CAG. He also said in the last five years he had been a "sad and silent witness" to how Parliament, the judiciary and other institutions, which were the "bedrock of democracy", had been brought to "ridicule".

### Papers Report Differences Between CPI-M Leaders

#### 'Kerala', 'Bengal' Lines

46001609 Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA*  
in English 29 Jul 89 p 7

[Text] Calcutta, July 28. The veteran CPM [Marxist Communist Party] politburo member and the secretary of the West Bengal unit of the CPM, Mr Saroj Mukherjee's statement yesterday on the mass political action by the opposition parties has added substance to the reported in-fighting between the so-called "Kerala line" and the "Bengal line" within the CPM.

Indeed, his comment that even the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] called itself non-communal seems, to be an apology by the Marxist leader on behalf of the BJP.

While the general secretary of the CPM, Mr E.M.S. Namboodiripad, is at pains to demarcate the party from

the BJP and the National Front on the question of strengthening of national unity and protection of minority rights, Mr Mukherjee's stress is more on the "Rajiv hatao" slogan than on the Hindu communal aspect of the BJP which threaten to weaken the unity of the country.

Mr Namboodiripad has made it clear that the Bharat bandh call had been given to demand the resignation of the Rajiv Gandhi government as also to safeguard the minorities and the backward classes and to instill confidence in them to strengthen the unity and integrity of the country.

On the other hand, Mr Mukherjee, while referring to the communal aspect of the BJP, said: "Why speak of the Hindu fundamentalism of the BJP alone, we consider the Jamait-i-Islami as a Muslim fundamentalist force also".

Thus, Mr Namboodiripad's keenness to win over the Muslims to the side of the left and the "secular" does not get full endorsement from Mr Mukherjee.

Interestingly, at yesterday's press conference, Mr Mukherjee squarely blamed the Congress for the prevailing communal tension in the country. While both Mr Namboodiripad and Mr Jyoti Basu in some of their recent interviews have described the Congress as a secular party.

Political circles here believe that Mr Namboodiripad's approval of the decision to ask the party's Lok Sabha members to resign along with those of the BJP and National Front members and support the Bharat bandh and "save India" movements along with the BJP and the National Front does not underline the victory of the "Bengal line" over the "Kerala line" within the party, particularly within the politburo.

This is so because Mr Namboodiripad has unequivocally announced in Delhi yesterday that the CPM would not support the BJP candidates in the coming Lok Sabha election since it had serious differences with the BJP on socio-political issues, in fact both on international and domestic issues.

These circles believe what has really happened is that the supporters of the "Kerala line" and the "Bengal line" within the politburo have made adjustments and given concessions to each other to take advantage of the emerging political situation in the country.

While Mr Namboodiripad agreed to the joint resignation and support to the Bharat bandh and "save India" movement calls, he sought to distance his party from the BJP and the National Front by insisting on issuance of separate calls for the movement and launching of separate movements under respective banners.

The supporters of the "Bengal line" have accepted Mr Namboodiripad's "strike separately" theory on the common issue of "Rajiv hatao" movement as this has, at least, brought the party nearer.

Mr Saroj Mukherjee, it may be recalled, described the en-masse resignation of the 12 opposition parties as a "good sign" and hoped that it would pave the way for one-to-one fight between the Congress and the opposition.

### Developments in PRC, USSR

46001609 Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH  
in English 13 Jul 89 p 2

[Text] Calcutta, July 12: Differences have arisen within the CPI(M) [Communist Party of India-Marxist] politburo, the highest policy-making body of the party, over recent developments in China and the Soviet Union. The party, which had earlier extended unqualified support to the Army crackdown on students in Beijing, now wants to modify its stand. It is no longer critical about glasnost and perestroika ushered in by the Soviet President, Mr Mikhail Gorbachev. The matter is likely to be thrashed out at the party's central committee meeting, scheduled to start in New Delhi this weekend.

Mr M. Basavapunniah, politburo member, admitted at a meeting, organized in connection with the birth centenary of Muzaffar Ahmed that there was "insufficient inner-party, democracy in China." At the same time, he felt that his own party, the CPI(M), could do better with a little more inner-party democracy.

In an emotional vein, Mr Basavapunniah said it would be wrong to blame the "open door" policy pursued in China for such a long time. He said here today that the statement supporting the Army crackdown had been issued hurriedly, at a time most of the politburo members were not in Delhi.

Mr Basavapunniah also modified the party's earlier stand criticizing glasnost and perestroika. He felt that Mr Gorbachev's peace initiative had put capitalism on the defensive and the threat of global war had receded. Earlier, Mr B.T. Ravadive, another politburo member, criticized glasnost because, he argued, it would increase the threat from capitalist countries.

Mr Basavapunniah, however, made it clear that the CPI(M) was in no position to criticize China or the Soviet Union since there was insufficient information. He said, "We cannot pass judgment sitting outside the arena, and, moreover, we are not a fault-finding machinery." He admitted that the CPI(M) had a lot of shortcomings, but despite this, the party would not like the Soviets or the Chinese to criticize it, he added.

Mr Basavapunniah said neither his party nor the Chinese Communist Party were free of factionalism, chauvinism or regionalism. For example, he said, "we are observing Muzaffar Ahmed's birth centenary here. Maybe in Andhra our party will celebrate that of the late P. Sundaryya." Throughout the 60-minute speech, he did not refer even once to Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi or his government.

### Commentary Criticizes Singapore for U.S. Base Offer

BK3108140989 Delhi General Overseas Service  
in English 1010 GMT 31 Aug 89

[Commentary by C. Rajamohan of the Institute for Defense Studies and Analysis: "Singapore's Base Politics"]

[Text] Singapore's offer to host American military bases has sent ripples within the regional grouping, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations comprising Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, and Thailand. The controversy within ASEAN [Association of Southeast Asian Nations] marks the growing divergence within the grouping over the long-term security interests of Southeast Asia at a time of changing great power relations and shifting regional perceptions.

Singapore's decision also signifies the tension between the new opportunities for peace in the Indian Ocean region and the persistence of militarist mind set. The immediate context of Singapore's provocative decision is the controversial American military presence in the Philippines at the Subic Bay and the Clark airfield. These bases are the largest foreign military facilities anywhere in the world. They also constitute the linchpin of the massive American forward military deployments in the vast area covering the Pacific and Indian Oceans.

Many Filipinos regard the American bases in their country as a violation of their sovereignty and a symbol of their country's dependence on the United States. They demand the removal of American bases for good. Manila and Washington are set to renegotiate their base agreement which expires in 1991. Given the emotive nature of the domestic debate on the U.S. military presence, substantive opposition to the bases in the Philippines Senate, which must ratify the new base agreement, the tantalizing offer by the Soviet president, Mr Mikhail Gorbachev, to withdraw from the Cam Ranh Bay facility in Vietnam if the United States does the same in the Philippines, and the approaching general elections in 1992, Mrs Corazon Aquino, the president of the Philippines, is dealing gingerly with the issue. Her government is using the domestic opposition to the bases to bargain for greater economic assistance from the United States. Washington has dismissed Manila's demand for up to \$1,000 million a year in assistance as impossible. Given its own large budget deficit, Washington is in no position to deliver much beyond the current levels of aid amounting to \$500 million a year. Washington argues that its assistance to the Philippines should not be treated as grant for the bases, which it says are the center for defense of the American allies in the region.

By intervening in this debate with its own offer of bases Singapore claims that it is making it easier for Manila to keep the American bases by easing some of Manila's political burden. However, Singapore's move only weakens Manila's hand in its complex economic bargaining with the United States.

Tiny Singapore is, of course, no substitute for the expansive Clark and Subic Bay facilities. Pentagon has stated as much and is viewing Singapore's offer in the light of their own strategic significance without regard to the situation in the Philippines. The danger then is the possibility of new American military facilities in Southeast Asia. It is this prospect that has raised apprehensions in Malaysia and Indonesia, who fear that the official goal of transforming Southeast Asia into a zone of peace, freedom, and neutrality would be set back. In the past, such a goal had been unrealistic given the American military intervention in Indochina up to the mid 1970's, the Sino-Soviet rivalry since the late 1960's, the renewal of the Soviet-American rivalry in the 1980's, and the tensions between ASEAN and Vietnam over the latter's intervention in Cambodia. But the recent changes in the political landscape of Asia marked by the new Soviet-American detente, Gorbachev's peace offensive in Asia, the Sino-Soviet rapprochement, and the Vietnamese decision to withdraw from Cambodia by the end of next month offer an unprecedented opportunity for peace and cooperation in the region. However, Singapore's move to host American bases would only counteract the emerging positive tendencies.

Singapore's argument that its offer would help preserve the balance of power in the region and prevent a power vacuum is only a recourse to the concepts of a bygone era. By providing new military facilities to the Americans at a strategic egress point of the Indian Ocean, Singapore is only seeking to perpetuate the foreign military presence in the Indian Ocean, affecting the security of all the littoral counties, including India. One hopes that better sense would prevail in Singapore.

### Papers Report Developments in Trade With Soviet Union

#### Indian, Soviet Enterprises Confer

46001619 New Delhi PATRIOT  
in English 29 Jul 89 p 9

[Text] Moscow, July 28 (UNI)—A two-day seminar on Indo-Soviet business cooperation has paved the way for further increasing the trade volume in the coming years. This was stated here by Mr Ramu S. Deora, president of Federation on Indian Exports Organizations, who summed up the results of intensive talks between a large group of Indian exporters, the organization and leading captains of Soviet trade and commerce sector.

The two sides showed keen interest in working in three directions, namely joint ventures, co-production and exports of commodities produced at the joint ventures to third nations.

Mr Deora, explaining the trend of talks, said the idea of triangular production found favor at the seminar.

One third of the jointly manufactured goods will be consumed locally, one third will be exported to the other

country participating in the joint venture and the rest to third states with a view to earning hard currency.

Some 126 members of the Federation of Indian Export Organizations (FIEO) had direct links with 250 representatives of Soviet industrial organizations' representatives of the emerging cooperative bodies and leading Soviet export houses.

This was the first time that Indian business houses had direct negotiations with Soviet enterprises bypassing the bureaucratic machinery. According to Mr Deora, this yielded instant results as some contracts were finalized on the spot by parties concerned.

FIEO will host in India a large Soviet business delegation in the coming months, Mr Deora said.

Besides offering the Soviet side urgent consumer necessities like electric appliances, toothpaste and textiles, the Indian business houses expressed their willingness to help in consultancy services, renovation of outdated machinery and upgrading their capacities.

Federation members suggested that for the sake of smooth functioning of joint enterprises, the sites in India be given preference, as India had the required infrastructure, free trade zones and the export oriented establishments enjoy a number of concessions granted by the Union Government. This would eliminate the problem of Rouble accumulation in the Soviet Union.

Rouble accumulation problem was now being faced acutely by the "Delhi Restaurant" a first Indo-Soviet joint venture. A huge amount of money was lying idle with the Indian side.

During the seminar Soviet cooperative houses told the Indian side that they would immediately avail of Indian expertise for production of consumer goods. Under new Soviet rules, the cooperative houses have both the power of entering into negotiations with foreigners and also foreign currency at their disposal.

The Soviet side told the Federation delegates that to facilitate financial transactions, the Soviet State Bank was going to open a branch in New Delhi.

After concluding talks here, the delegates left for Budapest, Hungary to take part in a similar seminar there.

### Problems in Trade Noted

46001619 Calcutta *THE TELEGRAPH*  
in English 13 Jul 89 p 9ba

[Article by K. K. Sharma]

[Text] New Delhi, July 12: Some snags that have developed in Indo-Soviet economic relations could slow down the process of reaching the 250 percent rise in trade turnover targeted for 1992. Discussions are, however, being held to overcome the hurdles.

One hitch is the inability of the Soviets to increase crude oil supplies to India above the 4.5 million-tonne level that had been reached last year. This means India will have to look for other sources for further crude imports, which require payment in scarce hard currency.

Another snag in the oil sector relates to the Karnal refinery for which the Soviet Union has announced large credits and undertaken to make supplies of equipment and technology to Indian Oil Corporation and Tata Chemicals, the two parties chosen to implement the project.

The Soviets are still keen on the project, but initial talks indicate that the technology offered is out dated and so also is the equipment accompanying it. Further talks are to be held on this, but the experts feel that it might be better to look elsewhere. For the present, there does not seem to be any urgency as the government appears to be keen on delaying the implementation of the Karnal refinery.

The third hurdle is inadequate shipping facilities. As a result cargo meant for the Soviet Union have been piling up at ports, delaying contractual obligations of the exporters.

### M. H. Mody Resigns

Bombay, July 12 (PTI): Mr M. H. Mody, director of Tata Sons and chairman and executive director of a number of Tata companies, as resigned from the boards of Tata Sons Ltd and other companies of the group "for personal and health reasons", Mr J. R. D. Tata, chairman of Tata Sons, said here today.

Mr Mody would, however, continue his association with the Tata house as adviser and as their representative on the managing committee of Assocham.

A related problem is the containerization of Indian consignments. Indian products are shipped in containers, but the Soviet preference is for air cargo and so the containers return empty. Further, shipping lines of both countries are not big enough to carry large containers.

An example is the Soviet decision to increase purchase of detergents this year to Rs 100 crores a 10-fold increase from the previous year. However, Indian containers are not big enough to cope with an order of this magnitude.

Efforts are now being made to improve infrastructural facilities at both Indian and Soviet ports. However, this requires heavy investments by both countries and a long-term plan will have to be formulated for the purpose.

Officials point out that the 1989 turnover target of Rs 7,000 crores will, nevertheless, be reached since nearly 80 percent of the contracts for the target were concluded in the first few months of the year. The target envisages a growth of 35 percent over the previous year.



## IRAN

### Majlis Deputies' Remarks on Higgins Death Criticized

46000176a Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL  
in English 7 Aug 89 p 2

[Viewpoint Column: "In the Name of the Most High Misplaced Sentiments"]

[Text] It is inconceivable that Imam Khomeini would have condoled anyone on the death of Lieutenant Colonel William R. Higgins. The Imam was given to branding the United States and Israel as the greatest enemies of the world of Islam and fingers of the same hand. Higgins fits this concept perfectly.

Concerning American and Israel collusion the Imam was right: the nearly \$10m a day the United States grants Israel is a sum far greater than the federal government pays to any of its 50 states. Moreover, the \$3b plus a year, granted as foreign aid, does not include any of the secret channels through which Israel is copiously funded. That is classified information.

We note here that the Imam's 27 October 1964 speech, which was the immediate cause of his forced exile, focused on the granting of capitulatory rights to the United States. That address was filled with invective against the United States, Israeli influence and an American loan of \$200m.

On the other hand, it did not come as a bolt out of the blue when President Rafsanjani offered a quite logical way to the same America to end the hostage crisis in Lebanon. Speaking in the wake of the execution of Higgins he said: "There is a reasonable way to free the hostages." He added that the U.S. approach of threats and bullying in this regard would get nowhere.

In contrast to the president's words, however, the statements of two Majlis deputies on the death of Higgins leave them open to criticism. First of all who was William R. Higgins of Danville, Kentucky? He was a high ranking officer in the U.S. Marines Corps whose fighting song opens something like this: "From the Shores of Montezuma to the shores of Tripoli, We will fight our nation's battles on land, by air and sea."

The "shores of Tripoli" part refers to the American battle at Tripoli, Libya, in 1803. The marines lost the battleship U.S.S. Philadelphia there.

The Tripoli phrase establishes the long record of American combat against the Muslim world which reached a peak in this decade; Lebanon, Libya, Iran and indirectly Tunisia having been raided by U.S. Forces.

Where does Higgins fit into this history? He was decorated a war "hero" for the part he played in the American fiasco in Vietnam. This decade saw him as an intricate part of the Delta Force, the successor apparatus to the Rapid Deployment Force which was organized as

a direct response to the victory of the Islamic Revolution in Iran. The Delta Force's primary mandate was and is to contain the spread of Islamic militancy by military means.

The years 1985-87 found him as an administrative assistant to U.S. Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger, spanning the period of the American raid on Libya and the deployment of U.S. warships in the Persian Gulf. No wonder then, that he was given to bragging to his colleagues when he arrived in Lebanon in June of 1987, that he was Cap Weinberger's man on the spot.

Given that track record, it is fair to say that his appointment as head of the United Nation's Truce Supervision Organization, charged with monitoring the Lebanese-Israeli agreement of 1948, was a highly suspicious maneuver. The Muslims of South Lebanon thought the same and both the WASHINGTON POST and Ronald Reagan confirmed this misgivings with articles and speeches that, in effect, admitted Higgins was an intelligence agent: a wolf in sheep's clothing. He used his UN cover to snitch to Tel Aviv on Muslim guerrilla forces resisting Israeli occupation in the south. Question: How many Lebanese and Palestinians died as a consequence of his nefarious activities?

It is against this background that both Dr Rajai Khorasani's and Mr Sadeq Khalkhali's expressions of both "deep regret" and just plain "regret" can be labelled as misplaced mourning. What U.S. lawmakers expressed regret over the American slaughter of 290 civilians, not spies, on 3 July 1988? Many of them simply blamed Iran.

Who sent a sympathetic work on the death of our beloved Imam? Relief and thinly veiled glee were the order of the day for American officialdom.

What has been the American response to the death of Higgins? New York Mayor Ed Koch, who typifies the solidarity of U.S. and Israeli interests, has called for carpet bombing of the Bekaa Valley and the destruction of Kharg Island. Columnists George F. Will, Haynes Johnson, Wesley Pruden, Max Lerner and Bernard Weinraub all writing for the WASHINGTON POST, NEW YORK TIMES and WASHINGTON TIMES, echo the same sentiments.

How then does one describe the two Majlis Foreign Commission members' feelings of regret for a man who spent much of this decade involved in contingency planning to slaughter Muslims? Is it a reactionary form of new pragmatism, an inferiority complex, or fear of the wolf? Whatever it is, it is certainly undignified.

### Visitor Describes Life in Iran

46000177 Lahore VIEWPOINT  
in English 31 Aug 89 pp 19, 20

[Article: "A Traveller's Notes"—Imtiaiz Shah, Punjab organiser of the Pakistan National Party, visited Iran for

the 'chehlum' of Ayatollah Khomeini, and found that despite the ravages of the Gulf War, life flows along confidently in that country.]

[Text] The impression one had gathered from Western reports was that as a consequence of the Gulf War, Iran was on the brink of disaster. It didn't seem like that at all when I reached Tehran.

The effects of the Gulf War were certainly evident in the high prices of essential goods, which were causing concern to the ordinary citizen. But society appeared stable, and the average Iranian self-confident, with young people particularly eager to work for their country.

### Energy Crisis

There is a grave energy crisis in Iran. This has obliged the government to impose a ban on the use of air conditioners. Even the President's House, five-star hotels, and public and private offices were not exempt from this ban. Everywhere we saw locally-made air-coolers being used. This demonstration of nationalism and self-reliance impressed us greatly.

Ordinary Iranians respect traffic laws and have a well-developed civic sense. If any woman is seen crossing a road, car drivers automatically give her the right of way. This respect for the pedestrian shows that the Iranians are a civilized people. No one breaks the queue. People are instinctively clean. We didn't see garbage lying about anywhere nor did we see people spitting in public or throwing fruit peels or other litter on the streets.

Public transport was far short of requirements. Taxis were available but beyond the reach of the common man. Bus stops were invariably crowded but people awaited their turn while boarding a bus.

Public receptions were austere affairs and participants were feted with just one dish, salad and some fruit.

We visited holy shrines in Tehran, Mashed and Qom. We walked around a great deal in these cities. There were beggars but not as many as are to be found in Pakistani cities. The few that we saw did not pester foreigners.

Iranians are invariably cleanly shod. The men generally are in open shirts and trousers. Sometimes they also use suits but without the necktie. The women still use skirts or jeans. However, they wear black overalls and cover their heads with scarves.

### The Palaces

The ex-Shah and his family's palaces and commercial houses have been taken over by the government. Reza Shah owned many palaces in Tehran, each one commanding vast estates. All of them have now been converted into museums. The palace the Shah used most frequently became the focus of public hatred during the uprising against him and was looted and slightly damaged. The famous Peacock Throne also used to be here. When we asked about its present whereabouts, we

received sidetracking answers. All the most valuable paintings and antiques were taken away by the people. Some of them have been returned on appeal from the government but most of them are still in private hands. The other palaces are, however, intact together with their chandeliers, paintings, antiques and sculptures. They are now open to the public.

### Industrial Losses

Because of the war with Iraq, industry has suffered. Most factories have been closed and there is an acute economic crisis. Officially the dollar is worth 18 tumans but in the open market it can fetch as many as 120. Until a few months ago currency exchange was an extremely hazardous business but now one could exchange one's dollars into tumans and vice-versa openly and easily. It appears that the government has given an unofficial sanction to this business.

According to the Iranian minister for economic planning, the country's war losses until 1986 were of the order of \$400 billion. It is estimated that economic rehabilitation will require \$15 billion annually whereas Iran's total oil earnings are \$11 billion a year.

The new president, Mr Ali Akbar Rafsanjani, in his quest for the nation's economic revival, visited the Soviet Union where he signed several agreements for economic, commercial and technological cooperation. On his return, Rafsanjani said Iran would have to modify its national rallying call "Death to America, Death to Russia and Death to Israel." He proposed that "Death to Russia" should now be deleted from the slogan.

Items of daily use are pretty expensive. Therefore, the government has opened fair-price shops where essential goods are cheaply available but on ration. Since the price difference between the open market and fair-price shops is fairly sharp, large queues can be seen at the latter where fowl and bread are also available.

We also visited the Tehran University. It is a coed institution but boys and girls sit separately in classrooms. Secular subjects are taught as before, but there is a great deal of emphasis now on theology. People who have breathed in a free academic atmosphere find this a bit difficult to digest. There are private primary and secondary schools which are generally class-based. The curricula prescribed by them differs from those in government schools.

### Social Tension

Because of the fundamentalist attitude towards women of the government, there is social tension. Before 1936, women were strictly segregated and heavily veiled. They were not allowed to take any part in the nation's social or economic life. In 1936, Reza Shah's father decreed that the veil would henceforward stand outlawed. He took women out of the four walls of their homes. Slowly, women began to receive education and to take part in the

social, cultural and economic life of the country. In 1963, Reza Shah enfranchised women. Before the Islamic Revolution, women were totally free of any discrimination on the basis of sex.

After the Islamic Revolution, women were once again put behind the veil—or almost. The burqa was not reintroduced but the chadar was and they were ordered to cover their heads with scarves. It was declared unlawful for women to expose their legs upwards of the ankle. Women's associations protested at this but the rulers used force to have their writ obeyed. Some women were even manhandled. At long last, they gave in, but the protest lives. The law says that the head should be fully covered by the scarf but most women leave the front half of their heads exposed as in protest.

### Back to 1936

Women have been sent back to 1936 so far as the veil is concerned, but the Revolution has not been able to ostracise them out of public life. They work in various professions, even in hotels. As before, most shopping centre employees are women. They can be seen with friends in restaurants or smoking openly or driving or walking alone in the streets at day and late at night. They agree that the government is now relenting in the enforcement of its laws.

We had occasion to celebrate Eidul-Azha in Tehran. Animal sacrifice is virtually unknown in Iran. We roamed about in Tehran all day on Eid but did not come across one single slaughtered lamb, cow or camel. Nor did we see any Eid rush or gaiety anywhere. The way we slaughter countless animals seems alien to Iran. Eid fell on a Friday. No extra holidays were allowed.

We had no opportunity to meet Tudeh Party leaders. However, we did have occasion to discuss things over with some teachers and students. The question was why were Tudeh leaders killed or imprisoned in spite of the party's total support to the Islamic Revolution? They were unanimous in their reply: Tudeh was busy spying for the Soviet Union. They were planning to overthrow the Islamic Revolution with Soviet support. The government got wind of the plan and it was forced to move against Tudeh with a heavy hand.

This didn't make sense but our academic friends insisted they were right. I presented my point of view and there was some argument on private property in Islam. Ayatollah Shariat Madar and Allama Montazeri were in favour of the peasant while the rest took a more conservative view. Tudeh was four square behind Shariat Madar and Montazeri but while the Islamic Government confined itself to demoting and arresting the latter, it used the sword against Tudeh and mowed down the cream of its leadership.

### Commentary Addresses POW Issue

46000176b Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL  
in English 23 Aug 89 p 2

[Viewpoint column: "In the Name of the Most High—Another Humanitarian Gesture"]

[Text] Without much ado, in keeping up with its humanitarian outlook as regards the prisoners of war, the Islamic Republic of Iran on Monday freed six Somali citizens captured during the Iraqi-imposed war.

This was the 22nd time Iran unilaterally released some POWs on humanitarian grounds. In all 1,447 prisoners have so far benefited by this initiative on the part of Iran. Apart from the disabled Iraqi captives regularly released 38 non-Iraqis have been handed over to the International Committee of the Red Cross during the past years. Moreover, Iran also allows the families of Iraqi POWs to visit the prisoners.

These Iranian gestures were reciprocated by Iraq by releasing some aged Iranian citizens captured in the western and southern cities of Iran. In any case the number of such category of prisoners released by Iraq is less than those freed by Iran.

Obviously Baghdad looks at the POW issue from a different angle. Its endeavor to capture as many Iranians as possible even after the UN Security Council Resolution 598 was accepted by Iran was a wicked act with evil intentions. From Baghdad's point of view the POW issue is considered as a bargaining chip. Iraq is reluctant to release the war prisoners erroneously believing that it can use them as hostages and extract concessions from the Islamic Republic.

Irrespective of what the Iraqi Ba'athists think or plan, the POW issue deserves more serious attention. One year has passed since the UN-sponsored cease-fire came into effect. The war has practically ended and both parties have, on several occasions, declared that there is going to be no war between the two countries, at least in the foreseeable future.

In view of this situation the plight of the POWs and their families is certainly more than what it was during the war years. This has to be realized by all concerned. Exchange of prisoners is one of the first conditions of the cease-fire. It is entirely a humanitarian issue. Other conditions of the cease-fire, though equally important, are not as sensitive as the POW issue.

It is hoped that the Islamic Republic of Iran under the presidency of Hojjatoleslam Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani, who believes that many major issues can be solved politically and diplomatically will do the needful in this respect. The UN Security Council should be called upon to exert pressure on Iraq to fulfill its obligations in this respect. The people of Iran can demonstrate tolerance as regards the other aspects of the cease-fire resolution

including withdrawal of troops to internationally-recognized borders, specifying the aggressor and collecting reparation. Their patience in respect to the unnecessary sufferings of their brothers in Iraqi prisons and the mental torture suffered by their kith and kin in Iran, it should be noted, may well have its own limits. All parties related to the Iran-Iraq peace negotiations should, as a matter of principle, give the POW problem its right place on the priority agenda.

## PAKISTAN

### Tighter Security Ordered for Bhutto

46000170a Islamabad THE MUSLIM  
in English 25 Aug 89 pp 1, 8

[Article by Raja Zulfikar: "Tight Security for Bhutto Ordered"]

[Text] Islamabad, Aug. 24: A tightening up of security around Prime Minister Bhutto has been ordered, well-informed sources told 'THE MUSLIM' on Thursday.

Top security officials are understood to have stressed new precautionary measures at the Prime Minister's residence as well as her Secretariat. These security officials have recommended that more people be detailed at the Prime Minister's residence and House. Moreover, these officers are to be equipped with sophisticated weapons.

This new step, according to sources, is a response to a telex message from the Pakistan Embassy in a Middle Eastern country to authorities in the Federal Capital.

The message was conveyed to Islamabad some time ago and it indicates that an extremist group may try to target the Prime Minister of Pakistan. Reports available say the Pakistan Embassy abroad was informed by a lady, whose identity could not be ascertained. She reportedly slipped the information through the door of the embassy.

Immediately, the Pakistani officials sent a telex message to Islamabad asking security authorities to adopt extra measures near the residence and office of the Prime Minister [PM].

The Pakistan Embassy officials are reported to have tried to contact the lady who gave the information. However, they could not get in touch with her until early this week.

The Interior Ministry, meanwhile, informed the concerned authorities all over the country, urging them to be on the alert.

The Home Secretaries and Inspectors General of Police of the four provinces are reported to have received a copy of the telex message as well as directives by the superior authorities.

In addition, the Inspector General of Police in Islamabad and AJK [Azad Jammu and Kashmir] have also been informed.

It is noteworthy that some days back a red Pajero Jeep entered the PM's House unchecked. The three occupants of the vehicle had to rush back after the cook and main servant of Ms. Bhutto raised the alarm.

After this incident, many changes have been brought about in the security of the Prime Minister. However, sources do not link this incident with the telex warning.

### Government Urged To Amend Official Secrets Act

46000170c Islamabad THE MUSLIM  
in English 26 Aug 89 p 8

[Article by Aurangzeb: "Government Urged To Amend Official Secrets Act"]

[Text] Lahore, Aug. 25: The All Pakistan Newspapers Employees Confederation (APNEC) and the Pakistan Federal Union of Journalists (PFUJ) have reiterated their stand on the Official Secrets Act and demanded that the Colonial era's piece of legislation should be amended in consonance with the requirements of democracy and freedom of expression.

In a joint statement issued here today Messers Minhaj Barna Chairman, APNEC, I.H. Raashed, President PFUJ, Mushtaq Suddhan, Secretary General, APNEC, and Abdul Hameed Chhapra, Secretary General, PFUJ, said that while the government's actions such as abolition of the NOC [No Objection Certificate] for the journalists, the liberal coverage of the opposition by the government controlled media, and unrestricted issuance of declarations of newspapers had created a lot of goodwill for the government, the manner in which the Official Secrets Act was used against the editor of the "Pakistan Observer", Islamabad, Zahid Malik, had led to an estrangement of relations between the government and the Press.

Reiterating their position on the Official Secrets Act, the statement said no one could dispute the authority's desire to protect the classified information in respect of national defence and security, but "to describe and mark all kinds of information as secret" and expect the Press to refrain from disclosing it even if to do so was in the public interest was to stretch the law to an absurd limit."

The statement recalled the case in which the editor of the weekly "Maiyar", Mehmud Sham, was arrested and prosecuted under the same Act during Gen. Ziaul Haq's Martial Law regime for merely publishing the name of those included in the so-called, exit-control list mostly persons opposed to the martial law.

The office bearers also urged the government to restore the subsidy of the PPI [Pakistan Press International] subject to the condition that the news agency ensure the

implementation of the wage board award for the employees and allowed free trade union activities as permissible under the law.

### **Zia's Son Predicts Elections in 1990**

46000171b Islamabad TEH MUSLIM  
in English 26 Aug 89 pp 1, 6

[Article: "Ejaz Predicts Polls in 1990"]

[Text] Dubai, Aug. 25: Ejaz-ul-Haq, son of the late Pakistani President Zia-ul-Haq, has decided to confront Benazir Bhutto's government head-on, and challenge her in the next elections which he feels will be held prematurely, early next year.

"The present political structure in Pakistan will not survive for long," Mr. Haq told THE KHALEEJ TIMES in an interview in Dubai. "Benazir Bhutto will go in for mid-term elections in January 1990."

According to Mr. Haq, there will be two forces contesting the mid-term elections: a pro-Zulfikar Bhutto force, represented by daughter Benazir, and pro-Zia force, represented by son Ejaz.

Asked whether he would contest the elections, Mr. Haq asserted he would. As for his aspirations about becoming the prime minister, the former president's son remarked: "I have ambitions. Whoever is in politics, has ambitions."

"When the right times comes, I'll have a clear-cut understanding with Nawaz Sharif" (the Punjab chief minister, who is the main opposition leader in Pakistan), explained Mr. Haq, who is now part of the opposition, Islamic Democratic Alliance (IDA).

The Pakistani politician is on a short visit to Dubai "to meet friends." Though he is the vice-president and regional manager of Bank of America in Bahrain, Mr. Haq has decided to devote most of his time now to politics. "I'll work with the bank on a consultancy basis," said Mr. Haq.

Explaining the reasons for his new-found political activism, Mr. Haq said that the first anniversary of his father's death, which was observed on August 17, made him realise the enormous popularity still enjoyed by general Zia in Pakistan.

"More than a million people—representing different communities—gathered at the Shah Faisal Mosque in Islamabad despite all efforts by the Pakistan People's Party government to block them from reaching there," said Mr. Haq.

According to him, in an unprecedented show of support, businesses all over Sindh—in Karachi, Hyderabad and even in Bhutto's Larkana constituency—pulled down their shutters as a mark of respect to his father.

"It was clear that the PPP had lost its mandate," remarked Mr. Haq. "Yes, I would like to ride on the crest of this popularity wave," he replied when asked about his plans.

Describing the Bhutto government as a minority one, Mr. Haq criticised her for her "politics of revenge." She had arrested an editor, an army general and an air marshal, all on false charges.

Mr. Haq charged her of inaction in vital areas of governance as well. Since the PPP government came to power nine months ago not a single legislation had been passed in the National Assembly. Inflation was very high and the government had no firm economic policy.

There was violence in Sindh and other parts of the country, but instead of curbing it, the PPP government was engaged in a fight with the Punjab government said the former president's son.

Does he think the army will interfere, as it did in 1977, when his father came to power in a military coup? "If things worsen, the people might force the army to take over," warned Mr. Haq.

While he was opposed to martial law—"It's not healthy, we'll avoid it"—he defended his father's action of 1977, because the situation required such an imposition.

Asked about the inquiry into his father's death, Mr. Haq said he had gathered conclusive evidence regarding the plot to kill his father. He had given the details to the government as well, but it was suppressing the evidence, perhaps because of its involvement.

Mr. Haq charged the Al-Zulfikar terrorist outfit of being involved in the death of his father. "They had tried to kill him on five earlier occasions."

If voted to power, what would be his attitude towards India? "My policies would be similar to that of my father's," said Mr. Haq. "We would like to have an extremely good relationship with India, but as a sovereign state."

According to him, the people of Pakistan forced Benazir Bhutto to give up her pro-India approach. "Rajiv Gandhi visited Pakistan twice, but he could not sign a single agreement, because of the pressure from the people of Pakistan," he said.

Comparing his situation with that of Benazir's, after her father's death, Mr. Haq said that she had run away from the country, while he returned from abroad to fight the government.

But wasn't that because the Bhutto family was being harassed by a military dictatorship, while he had returned to work in the opposition in a democracy? "I'm being harassed. They've cancelled all our privileges—even my mother's pension has been withdrawn. They are serving income tax notices on me," retorted Mr. Haq.



**Junejo Predicts Early Elections**

46000171a Islamabad THE MUSLIM  
in English 25 Aug 89 p 8

[Article: "Junejo Predicts Early Elections"]

[Text] Lahore, Aug 24: Mohammad Khan Junejo, President Pakistan Muslim League and former Prime Minister of Pakistan has said that in Pakistan the democracy was sailing in rough waters, and one could guess that next general elections were not far off.

Addressing a meeting of the office-bearers of the Primary Muslim League [PML] at the Muslim League House, here on Thursday afternoon, the PML President said it was the prime duty of the government particularly the President to uphold the Constitution of Pakistan, and there should not be any controversy on it.

Mr. Junejo said the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] Government did no service to the people of Pakistan during its nine months tenure. The law and orders situation has deteriorated, and they have encouraged conflicts with the provinces where non-PPP governments are in power.

He viewed that the people who are in power must be held responsible for the current situation. Unemployment has become a very soaring problem and the people who were employed in "Nai Roshni" schools had been thrown out of employment.

Mr Junejo said the PML suffered defeat in the general elections because we did not work much for these elections. In Sindh, he explained, the PPP leadership raised Sindh slogan and created a new sentiment and won the election. It is a fact that there was no rigging but the question was if the people had elected them as their representatives then they must work there. But situation has changed and they failed to maintain law and order and the circumstances have become very disappointing.

The PML President asked the party workers to make a comparison between his and the PPP tenure of government.

Former Prime Minister expressed his concern over the increase in the prices of essential commodities while sugar had gone up to Rs. 13 per k.g.

He pointed out, in 1985, he took over the government in very difficult circumstances but democracy was restored, Martial Law was lifted, basic human rights were restored and development of undeveloped areas started.

He said the PPP success was the result of the freedom his government given at that time. The credit goes to his government which conducted the first local bodies election during the 40 years.

Mr Junejo said it was incorrect to say that Benazir Bhutto was the first Prime Minister who visited Siachen. He said that he visited the area in 1987.

**Abrogating Islamic Laws**

46560048b Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 2 Jun 89 p 5

[Editorial: "Minister of Law, Beware!"]

[Text] When the president of Pakistan entrusted the reins of government to the People's Party and nominated Benazir Bhutto to the premiership, commentators thought that the leadership of the People's Party would keep its past failures in mind and adopt an attitude of understanding and tolerance toward the opposition party and not take any steps that would widen the existing differences. But as soon as Benazir Bhutto came into office, she decided to use the past as a means to success. She abused the former administration to her heart's content, and continues to do so. She manages to attribute every success to her father's achievements, and blames every evil and shortcoming on the late Zia and martial law. After coming into office, she tried to extend her party's power from Sind to the other provinces as well. First, she had the governor of Baluchistan dissolve the provincial assembly, while she herself professed disinterest in the matter. But the maneuver failed, and the court restored Baluchistan's provincial assembly and declared the action of the governor nominated from the center to have been illegal.

But Benazir did not learn from this defeat and started to muster her forces against the province of Punjab. People's Party members, in the central and provincial assemblies elected from Punjab, started a never-ending tirade of accusations and statements against Punjab's provincial government and its chief minister, but all their efforts met with failure. The prime minister formed an alliance with Wali Khan's ANP [Awami National Party] in the Frontier province, but the People's Party's habit of reneging on promises caused ANP to turn away from them. What is happening in this connection to the Karachi Declaration is not a secret hidden from the people. How can the promises of a party that behaves in this manner be trusted, and how can one believe that it will fulfill the promises it made to the people before the elections?

Political expediency made Benazir Bhutto declare, before the elections, that socialism was a thing of the past. But she forgot what she had said in the recent past, and during a public gathering, she declared that our economic system was a socialist one. In other words, the promise to establish an Islamic welfare state were false, and to her, an economy based on Islam did not deserve any attention. Such are Benazir's views which point to the course she is going to follow. The passage of time is unveiling the true nature of the People's Party. Qazi Hussain, the leader of Jamaat-e Islami, severely condemned the statement of the minister of law, Sayed Iftkhar Gilani, regarding the abrogation of the law governing witnesses and the limits ordinance, and said that the federal minister of law had called the limits ordinance and the witness law contrary to humanitarianism and promised to repeal both. The minister's

statement is an insult unimaginable to a person of faith. Earlier, the prime minister also had expressed similar views. By openly calling the laws given by God and His prophet inhumane, the minister of law has confirmed that the People's Party is a secular one, and intends to lead the country to secularism.

The leaders of the People's Party should remember that the nation of Pakistan, which made unparalleled sacrifices to establish this country in the name of Islam, will never allow this conspiracy of Jews and Hindus to succeed. Nor will the people tolerate rulers who seek to repeal the laws of the Qoran and Sunna. Just consider how boldly the minister of law says that all these laws promulgated by Zia were cruel and inhumane and deprived women of their rights. Perhaps the minister of law does not know that the limits ordinance, the witness law, zakat, ashraf, and the system of salat were issued in connection with the promulgation of the sharia, and the ulema of all schools of thought, as well as ulema all over the world, approved and applauded the move. We warn the minister of law not to test the patience of the Muslims with such statements, because any man who believes in the Qoran and the prophet cannot even imagine entertaining such thoughts, let alone uttering them aloud. Pakistan is not India or Britain where a Salman Rushdie can obtain sanctuary and immunity from prosecution. The People's Party's cabinet should examine again section 2 of the constitution of Pakistan and the oath they took, and decide for themselves whether the statements they have been making after coming into office are in accordance with the promises they made. The statement of the minister of law has made it plain that the People's Party is gradually heading towards atheism. It is openly opposing Islamic laws, and is not ready to tolerate measures taken to promulgate an Islamic system in the country.

### Hindu Intrigues in Sind

46560048a Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 31 May 89 p 3

[Editorial: "Muslims of Sind, Beware!"]

[Text] Abdul Hafiz Bajarani, the supervisor of the Sukkur division of Islami Jameat-e Talaba, said in his address in Jacobabad to the newly elected officials of his organization, "The activities of the Hindu lobby in Sind have increased to an alarming extent. Hindu young men have used their influence to fill all the enrollments in Sind medical colleges. Patriotic elements, who would have raised a hue and cry if a Muslim Punjabi or Muhajir had obtained these seats, have nothing to say now."

It was reported earlier: "While patriotic Sindhi Muslims are busy protesting against military barracks, Hindu Sindhis have quietly rented or bought stores in those areas. No Muslim Sindhi has protested to the Hindus against this action, whereas before MQM's [Muhajir Qaumi Movement] popularity, Sindhi Muslims used to

hurl taunts at their Muslim Muhajir brothers for cooperating with Punjabi troops."

The ever increasing influence of Hindus in Sind province is no longer a secret. Nor is it a secret that, in spite of the fact that the role of minorities is specified in the constitution of Pakistan, the present government has given Hindus in particular the opportunity to assume key roles at the highest levels of the province. The important part played by Hindu conspirators in dividing Muslims in Sind into factions and giving them labels such as Sindhi, Punjabi, Muhajir, and Pathan was pointed out by Islamic minded leaders and intellectuals when the factional troubles first started. Now that professing Muslims in Sind have become embroiled in fighting amongst each other on the basis of provincial and linguistic labels, the implacable enemies of the Muslims have finally gotten their wish, and, by tightening their grip on the political, economic, and educational institutions of the Muslims, they want to restore the conditions that prevailed before the establishment of Pakistan. At that time, Muslims in the interior of Sind lived in economic and political bondage to Hindu money lenders. When a government with a Muslim identity was formed based on the two nation idea, most of the Hindus who had kept the helpless Muslims under their cruel and oppressive power fled to India. But the fire of revenge and hatred continued to burn in their breasts and now, by their machinations, they have succeeded in dividing the Muslims of Sind into territorial and linguistic factions. They have destroyed Muslim unity and have begun to gather the fruits of their success. The lamentable fact is that Sindhi Muslims are watching all these events but they still continue to walk into the snare of their common enemy with wide open eyes.

According to newspaper reports, in a recent discussion program called "Door Darshan" shown on Indian television, the participating Indian intellectuals agreed on the following: "Sind is like a ripe fruit ready to fall into our laps, and, in this instance also, India should repeat the historic role it played in Bangladesh."

While the activities of factional and shortsighted Muslim groups in Sind have raised the hopes of the enemy, our government as well has played into its hands by a thoughtless policy. It was the central leadership which labelled the former authorities "beggars for tickets to cricket matches" and claimed that it was "talking with Rajiv Gandhi on an equal footing." This same leadership did not wish to displease India over the Khalistan issue and thus tried not only to curtail the activities of the ISI [Inter Services Intelligence] but, in the SAARC [South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation] conference, cursed Morarji Desai in front of Rajiv Gandhi and read a poem eulogizing Indira Gandhi. The central leadership removed the name board from "Kashmir House" in Islamabad. On the same day, it ordered Kashmir deleted from the map of Pakistan shown on the television news. It did not allow any reference to the

weather in Muzaffarabad to be included in the broadcast. It heard, with a silent smile, Rajiv Gandhi's decisive announcement that the Kashmir problem was solved, and thus tried to please the "equal footing" enemy. It is because of such activities that India is now openly trying to interfere in Pakistan's political and military affairs. After all, it was not without cause that prayers for Benazir's long life were offered up in India's Lok Sabha. Policies favoring India could be the only reason why the son of the "Frontier Gandhi" who was brought up on bags of Indian rupees and who, in Bhutto's term of office, received a judicial certificate of treason, announced that he would support the Pakistan People's Party unconditionally even if he is no longer a member of the Frontier province's coalition government.

When India subjected a poor and weak country like Nepal to economic oppression, Pakistan, though the chairman of SAARC, took no practical measures and contented itself with a mere official expression of "concern." This was a way of reassuring India that it was free to continue on its unbridled course and to ride roughshod like a bull at large, and that we would not place any obstacles in the path of its objectives. The logical outcome of this attitude was that even a single sentence uttered in our media against India's outrageous actions would be considered a "sin", while the Indian media openly and clearly announced the good tidings that Sind was ready to fall like a ripe fruit into India's lap, and that India should repeat the historic role it played in Bangladesh.

The only way to preserve the safety and survival of the Muslims in Sind is for them to awaken from their sleep of ignorance and to recognize the true nature of the Hindu cobras who have destroyed the brotherhood, unity, and common goals of the Muslim nation by injecting the venom of factional patriotism into its body. The Muslims of Sind should come to their senses before they find themselves paying a heavy price for the farce staged by our enemies. If we do not realize the crucial nature of events, and, as before, fail to take immediate and suitable measures to improve the situation, the outcome will be a terrible one, and the danger is that the enemy will gain its objective.

We hope that all the leaders, intellectuals, and authorities of the country will pay immediate attention to the cries of the suffering Muslims of Sind.

### **PNP Announces Central Organizing Bodies**

46000169c Islamabad THE MUSLIM  
in English 19 Aug 89 p 8

[Text] Karachi, Aug. 18—A central organising committee of the Pakistan National Party [PNP] has been constituted in accordance with the directive issued by late President PNP Mir Ghous Bakhsh Bizenjo before his death.

A PNP Press release issued here today, said that the committee has been set up after consultations with the organisers of the federating units and the senior members of the party.

Following are the co-members:

Balochistan: Nawab Mohammad Aslam Raisani, Malik Faiz Mohammad Yousufzai, Malik Abdul Wali Kakar, Dr. Abdul Hakim Lehri, Bismillah Khan Kakar, Raziq Bugti, Ali Ahmed Kurd, Shakil Baloch, Bizen Bizenjo, Tahir Bizenjo, Syed Abdussamad, Sher Jan Baloch, Aslam Kurd, Arbab Asif Hazara, Rahat Malik, Sardar Ahmad Khan Sarparah, Khalid Malik Advocate, Malik Abdul Rasul Lehri.

Sindh: Agha Zafarullah Shaheed, Shah Mohammad Shah, Dr. M. A. Mehboob, Lala Gul Mohammad Hoth, Yusuf Mustikham, Qamaruzzaman Rajpar, Haji Yunus Baloch, Mohammad Hussain H. Baloch, Karamat Ali Dr. Khan Mohammad Leghari, Baqa Mohammad Jakh-rani, Ghous Bakhsh Khaskheli, Bashir Malah, Shamsuddin Memon, Mohammad Ismail Aasan, Abdul Aziz Memon, Kazi Ali Nawaz B. M. Kutty.

Punjab: Syed Imtiaz Shah, Shamim Ashraf Malik, Khalid Masood, Ghulam Nabi Bullar, Mrs. Nasim Shamim Malik, Mohammad Iqbal Bala, Hakim Abdul Rahim, Mohammad Akbar, Altaf Baloch, Prof Mian Minhajuddin, Khawaja Habiburrahman.

NWFP [North-West Frontier Province]: Col (Retd) Ali Gohar Khan, Dr Sher Afzal Malik Roze Gul, Anwarzeb, Arzoomand Khan, Mustafa Kamal, Ubaidullah Khan, Syed Wilayat Hussain Gardezi, Dr Manshad Qureshi, Comrad Mohammad Iqbal Ch. Farzand Ali, Syed Kaswar Gardezi, Arif Mahmood Qureshi, Allah Ditta.

Mr. B. M. Kutty shall be the Secretary of the central organising committee.

### **Nawaz Lashes Out at PPP Government**

46000169a Islamabad THE MUSLIM  
in English 19 Aug 89 pp 1, 6

[Text] Lahore, Aug 18—Mian Nawaz Sharif Chief Minister Punjab and President of the Islami Jamhoori Ittehad [IJI], giving his reaction on the observance of Gen Zia's first death anniversary, said the huge gathering showed that late General still command tremendous respect in the masses of Pakistan. "This will be of great political consequences", he added.

He was taking to the newsmen this afternoon. [as published] He said the people attended the barsi with a "political spirit" and thus it could be termed as a referendum in our favour. To a question if he would turn it into a movement against the federal government, Mian Nawaz Sharif said, "people will turn it into a movement, because it has given a lot of awakening to the masses".

The Chief Minister said that a large number of Afghan Mujahideen wanted to participate in the anniversary but

the federal government restricted their movement in their camps, and some who managed to come out were stopped at Attock and sent back. He said it was a religious gathering and the federal government should have not done so.

Nawaz Sharif said the federal government took several actions and added first Section 144 was imposed and the Frontier Constabulary was deployed in Islamabad.

The IJI President claimed that people from all over the country reached Islamabad for their love for Gen Zia. He said this event gave an assessment that Gen Zia was still alive in the hearts of the people. Mian Nawaz Sharif was very critical of the performance of the Pakistan Television [PTV] and said the PTV used very humiliating words for the "Shaheed President" and it must be condemned. He said the PTV used the word "dictator and dictatorship" about such a person who introduced nobility in politics introduced Islamisation, and eliminated political violence.

Reply a question about the issue of tenure of the Chairman Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee the IJI President said that in this connection, the IJI thinks that the stand of President Ishaq was correct and in accordance with the constitution. He said that the Prime Minister should not try to impose her personal will.

PPI [Pakistan Press International] adds: Mian Nawaz Sharif accused the PPP Government of NWFP [North-West Frontier Province] of debarring Afghan Mujahideen from participation in the first death anniversary of late President Ziaul Haq.

He said that the Afghan Mujahideen were warned not to participate otherwise they will have to face the dire consequences. He said that police had been posted in front of their camps and at Attock to forestall their passage from the bridge.

Mian Nawaz Sharif said that Afghan Mujahideen were beaten up, who were coming to pay their tributes to the soul of the leader who stood like an iron wall for their just and religious cause.

#### **MQM Pressuring Pm To Appoint Ministers**

46000169b Islamabad THE MUSLIM  
in English 19 Aug 89 p 1

[Article by Tariq Butt: "MQM Pressuring PM To Appoint Ministers"]

[Text] Islamabad, Aug 18—The MQM [Muhajir Qaumi Movement] leadership is believed to be angry over the delay in being asked for names to be included in the Federal Cabinet by Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto.

During the last Bhutto-Altaf meeting in Karachi about two weeks ago, it was apparently agreed that two MQM members would be inducted at the Centre as Ministers and Minister of State.

Now pressure is mounting on the Prime Minister from the MQM to immediately "request it" for two names, and also decide on the portfolios they will be given.

The MQM is reportedly interested in one of the powerful economic ministries. It is not yet known which ministries will be offered to the MQM.

At the same time, it is unclear whether the MQM members will be inducted in the Cabinet separately or part of a long-anticipated Cabinet reshuffle.

However, sources believe that the reshuffle is still on the cards and may take place after the month of Moharram.

It appears that the last concerted efforts made by the Prime Minister to satisfy the coalition partners are slowly evaporating in the wake of reports indicating that Chief Minister Qaim Ali Shah is under pressure to break the coalition.

Hardly three weeks later, differences between the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] and the MQM have publicly surfaced. Meanwhile, ethnic disharmony in Sindh is also on the increase and there have been recent clashes in Karachi and Hyderabad.

#### **Investment Bank Law Proposed**

46000170b Islamabad THE MUSLIM  
in English 25 Aug 89 pp 1, 8

[Article: "Investment Bank Law Under Consideration"]

[Text] Islamabad, Aug. 24: The government is contemplating legislation to monitor the functioning of investment banks being established in the private sector, APP learned here today.

The proposed law would also provide safeguard to the interest of the investors.

Meanwhile, the first investment bank in the private sector is likely to start functioning next month, the sources said adding that all documentation and procedural formalities had been completed in this regard.

The government has given sanction for the establishment of six investment banks against 53 applications received within the stipulated period. Only one investment bank owned by the Crescent Group has been issued licence after the completion of all procedural requirements.

However, the sources added, rest of the five applicants are expected to apply for the licence after the fulfilment of necessary formalities.

These banks, the sources observed, would help mobilise the savings, the objective which could not be fully achieved by the commercial banks.

The sources, in response to a question, said that these Banks would attract un-utilised and unmobilised savings lying in the hands of the people who are not included to invest themselves.

The rate of return would be fixed by the Banks themselves, the sources said adding that the government had not given any instruction in this regard.

The profit on the deposits of the investors has not been exempted from tax so far. The sources noted that the government had not taken any decision to whether or not statutory deposit requirement would be applicable on the investment Banks like commercial Banks.

The setting of investments Banks, the sources stated, would fulfil one of the pre-conditions set by the World Bank for the finalisation of a loan amounting to dollars 75 million for Pakistan.

The minimum authorised capital of each investment Bank is expected to be around Rs. 100 million, against which the Banks could attract seven times as much amount, that is, Rs. 700 million.

The banks, the sources said, might float two types of certificates, Participation Term and Term Finance Certificates for resources raising. The Participation term Certificate would envisage share of the investors in profit and loss, while Term Finance Certificate would provide fixed rate of return to the investors.

The sources expressed the hope that these Banks would function successfully. The government had properly examined the sound financial position of the parties who applied for setting up banks to ensure their survival, the sources added.

Those applicants who were given letter of intent included Crescent Group, Investment Finance Ltd, Redco Qatar, Ryn Agency, Pak Northern Corporation and Trust Investment Company.—APP

### **Commentary Debates 1990 Vote of Confidence for PM**

46000171c Islamabad THE MUSLIM  
in English 26 Aug 89 p 8

[Article by Tariq Butt: "Does PM Need Confidence Vote After March 20, 1990?"]

[Text] Islamabad, Aug. 25: Does the Constitution require the Prime Minister [PM] to seek a fresh vote of confidence from the National Assembly after March 20, 1990? Most constitutional experts say no, she doesn't.

Of late, a controversy has been started suggesting that Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto will have to seek a fresh vote of confidence after March 20, 1990 because by then, she would exhaust her "nominated" tenure.

In fact according to the Constitution after March 20, 1990, the President's discretionary power to "appoint

from amongst the members of the National Assembly a Prime Minister who, in his opinion, is most likely to command the confidence of the majority" in the House will cease to exist.

This clause was inducted in the Constitution through the Eighth Amendment so that the then President could continue to enjoy the discretionary power till March 20, 1990 when the next general elections would have been held had the Junejo Assembly completed its five-year tenure. And the President would have chosen a Prime Minister of his liking instead of having been freely elected by the National Assembly.

Significantly, the President no doubt has the power to appoint a Premier till a specific period, but he has no power to dismiss him/her according to the Constitution. The National Assembly is the sole authority to do so.

PML Secretary General Iqbal Ahmad Khan had recently asserted that the Constitution was clear in this respect and that the Prime Minister would need a fresh vote of confidence by the Assembly after March 20, 1990 and a "nominated" premier could not continue to rule after that.

Some ministers had repudiated his interpretation of the Constitution. Dr. Sher Afgan, who has command over the Constitution, had also rejected his interpretation.

According to Article 91 (2A), "... after March 20, 1990, the President shall invite a member of the National Assembly to be the Prime Minister who commands the confidence of the majority of the members of the National Assembly as ascertained in a session of the Assembly summoned for the purpose in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution."

Some experts attach much importance to the word "shall" used in this clause and believe that the President will have to summon a special session of the Assembly for "ascertainment" to determine as to who commands majority.

This "ascertainment" will be needed when the incumbent Premier has lost the confidence of the House. How does the vote of confidence which Prime Minister Bhutto got immediately after her nomination will automatically exhaust? the experts ask.

They believe that she will continue to hold her office for five years unless she is voted out by the Assembly. As long as she is in office, no other MNA can be "ascertained" as the Prime Minister, they say.

The President, however, has the power to ask her to obtain a fresh vote of confidence in a specific situation. This is provided in Article 91(5), which says, "The Prime Minister shall hold office during the pleasure of the President, but the President shall not exercise his powers under this clause unless he is satisfied that the Prime Minister does not command the confidence of the majority of the members of the National Assembly in which case he shall summon the National Assembly and



require from the Prime Minister to obtain a vote of confidence from the Assembly”.

It is relevant to point out that a similar clause (Article 130(2)) relating to the nomination of the Chief Ministers existed in the Constitution wherein a specific period for their nomination had been laid down.

According to it, the power of the Governors to nominate Chief Ministers exhausted on March 20, 1988. It is clear that none of the four Chief Ministers who held offices in 1988 after March 20 obtained a fresh vote of confidence. They continued to hold their offices.

Experts say a similar treatment is to be given in the case of the incumbent Prime Minister who does not need to seek a fresh vote of confidence automatically after March 20, 1990.

### **Commentary Views Obstacles Facing Democracy**

*46000172 Karachi DAWN in English 21 Aug 89 p 5*

[Article by M. B. Naqvi]

[Text] The crisis that arose over the question of tenure of the Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee, in which the President and the Prime Minister [PM] interpreted their respective constitutional authority differently seems happily to have sorted itself out—after a fashion. It was a reminder of the difficulties that the highest office-holders in the land face in trying to implement the Constitution as it unhappily is.

This particular crisis should be taken as a symptomatic one and raises larger issues of the proper relationship between the President and the Prime Minister. It also shows that there are various pitfalls for democrats in this country and that they have to use cool heads to chart their course in overcoming, or skirting around, the roadblocks that had been placed by the peculiar composition of the true power structure that still largely holds sway over our destinies.

Specifically, the main difficulty facing the President and the Prime Minister is the confusion generated by the conflicting purposes and orientations of the Eighth Amendment and the original 1973 Constitution. The organic law, as it stands, creates two centers of ultimate power within the State. We have had a long and sorry history of the controversy regarding the powers of the head of the state vis-a-vis the PM and Parliament.

Throughout the 1950s and 1960s the nation had to suffer authoritarian and quasi-authoritarian heads of state who automatically seemed to assume that the old reserve powers of British Viceroys still vested in them. For a time the predecessors of the present Supreme Court upheld them—to the consternation of all democrats. The memory of those all-powerful heads of state still returns to stab one's soul. After 1958, the office of the President, under the system envisaged by Ayub Khan's constitutional scheme naturally became the repository of total

powers—more so because General Ayub Khan dispensed with the principle of direct elections and virtually abolished all means of creating any checks and balances on his powers. The 20 years' history since then of the depredations of all-powerful heads of state provides the background for the 1973 Constitution.

The 1973 Basic Law made absolutely sure that the country would return to the Westminster model of democracy, with its unchallenged supremacy of the Parliament. The head of the state was only a symbol of the State for purely formal and ceremonial purposes. Perhaps the Bhutto leadership of the day went a little too far: things like requiring counter-signatures of the PM and a few other provisions were needless. Certain functions of reviewing hardship cases or appellate authority of a basically advisory kind by a team of senior public servants put on President's staff—on matters like mercy petitions, final reviews of service matters in respect of higher judiciary, armed forces or even bureaucracy as such where literal following of rules might produce vexatious results—could be useful. But this does not necessarily require empowering the President to override or countermand Prime Ministerial decisions and judgment. Those review functions would give more dignity to the office of the President and provide an ultimate administrative recourse for redressing legitimate grievances arising out of intractable circumstances and differing interpretations of rules.

But the basic scheme of the 1973 Constitution is sound and no one need crib about lack of balance between the powers of the President and the Prime Minister. The idea of checks and balances on the power of the Prime Minister—who holds a national mandate and who represents through the Parliament a majority of the people—would rob the people of an effective ultimate say on public affairs and indeed of their sovereignty. In a functional sense, the PM and his administration is the custodian of the sovereignty. The President is not meant to be an alternative center of power and influence. The necessary checks and balances on the person who exercises the supreme executive powers are, of course, necessary.

Within the Westminster model, a Prime Minister's supremacy over executive matters is balanced by several factors: First and foremost is the institution of opposition, with its proper privileges; it is vital to the health of a democracy. The Parliament itself, through various functions and procedures, acts as a major balancing factor; any possible wrongdoing or gross misjudgment by the executive would invite howls from the rank and file of all parties in the Parliament. But the most effective and fundamental balancing factor is the guaranteed free expression by all and a spirit of toleration of dissent by government (listening to other's point of view is an integral part of the idea of democracy). Thus, the second unwritten check is the freedom of all citizens to speak their minds without fear of executive authority. Expression of dissenting views strengthens the democratic

structure of a society and (and releases passions that, if suppressed, may one day cause explosion).

A part of this liberty is known as the freedom of the Press. Recently the Minister of State for Information tried to make a distinction between the freedom of the press and hauling up an author for breach of Official Secrets Act and damaging national security. This is misconceived. An author's freedom to say what he, in his judgment, likes the people to know is as important as is the freedom of the press. As for national security, there is no ab initio presumption that a Minister or the whole Government is necessarily more concerned with safeguarding the nation than a writer or a journalists, although it is certainly the Government's function to safeguard what is objectively definable as national security.

But a plea of national security is frequently taken by a mentally lazy executive to suppress rather uncomfortable questioning of it by writers and journalists. This is why in a democracy executive actions are subjected to close scrutiny by a free judiciary to safeguard people's liberties. That provides another vital check on misuse of powers by a government. Thus, the true checks and balances on the power of the PM and the Government include freedoms of the Press, platform, trade unions, universities and the academic community, the Bar and, of course, the judiciary; some democracies go so far as to create a special judicial authority within the bureaucracy itself to keep a sharp eye on its day-to-day working. All in all, a democratic government is supposed to be an open government; and over-emphasis on secrecy is a bad symptom—of something being wrong somewhere.

Yet another major check on a PM's power is the rule of law. The whole Government and its administrative apparatus are made subject to the judicial scrutiny and review. The Government and a citizen stand on a footing of equality in the eyes of law and courts. But subordinating the Government to judiciary's review is only one part of the rule of law; the other part involves laws being made, ideally, by the people themselves. It is only practical difficulties that compelled democracies to entrust this work of framing laws to those who directly represent the people. In addition, an ambience of toleration of all dissent is a necessary concomitant of the rule of law.

Repeating these things is necessary in view of the state or party politics today. The confrontation between Central Government and the IJI [Islamic Jamhoori Ittehad]-ruled Punjab has resulted in regrettable shenanigans over the reported sale and purchase of the supposed popular representatives, attempts for the purpose. This is said to be happening in three legislatures: at the Center, in Punjab and the NWFP [North-West Frontier Province]. Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto seems to be right when

she says that the confrontation between Punjab and the Center is actually a tussle between the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] and the IJI. But obviously both sides have failed to keep it within permissible limits and decorous. More, changes in the MPA [Member of Provincial Assembly]s' and MNA [Member of National Assembly]s' allegiances have taken place and higher echelons of both parties cannot escape blame for using unethical methods. There is no way of being certain whether a virtual Juma Bazar of MNAs and MPAs has been in existence as widely alleged. But, considering the circumstances, the presumption of this being substantially true has to be made—or else there would be no crisis for the NWFP government or any in the other two legislatures.

This is most unfortunate. It does look as if both parties, IJI and PPP, are discrediting themselves. We, the common citizens, are most unhappy that our elected representatives are such uncertain political commodities and the top leadership of both parties is so cynical and unscrupulous as to try and buy elected deputies. Both sides are also trading rigging charges. Let us not forget history; it is a very serious matter to question or discredit each other's mandate. Interested third parties can present this as a devaluation of the general election itself. As the 1977 experience shows, discrediting of a general election can lead to the demise of democracy. Any more of this sorry business may discredit the idea of democracy itself, and it will be we, the common people, who stand to lose our rights.

It is true that the unscrupulousness of an elected deputy, whether a big leader or run-of-the mill MNA or MPA, represents the backwardness of our society, non-democratic character of politics and apathy of the people. All pundits say that what is needed is more elections and more education of the people through regular elections. Before long, the people would learn how to give their mandate and how to hold their earlier mandates. It is only through this experience of the people in electoral politics that democracy strikes roots. Democracy functions well when people realize that they are involved in the processes of government and have a stake.

This popular consciousness of participation in the processes of a country's governance is what gives not only vitality to a democracy but also provides a firm foundation for national security. National security is not furthered or secured by paranoid secretiveness; what furthers it is an open government, a sense of participation by the people and confidence among people that their freedoms are secure against bureaucracy's depredations and that the government is working for promoting our actual interests—creation of more wealth, its better distribution and preservation of peace and friendship with all who matter in the region and in way we want.

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